The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

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A Pacifist Defends the Legion

By Ernest L. Meyer

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Hunger on the March

By Paul Hutchinson

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Editorials

The Campaign Ends

The Price of Pacifism

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 9, 1932

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The Office Notebook

As we have said before, one of the drawbacks of weekly journalism is its requirement of going to press more than a week in advance of its official date of publication. The resultant effect is something like the arrival of one of those cablegrams from China—it is China, isn't it? The Notebook is never sure of its mathematics when it is mixed up with geography—announcing the birth of a nephew who won't be born until tomorrow. This week the editors have to remember that the election was held yesterday—see date-line on the adjoining column—although as a matter of fact they are only too dismally aware that they still have a week of campaign speeches to listen to.

Of course, if the straw vote collectors are to be believed, the editors might go ahead with a ringing pronouncement on "Mr. Roosevelt Faces the Future." (And, if his speeches are any criterion, the past, the present, and the fourth dimensional time-space as well.) But the Notebook can understand the editorial hesitation. Some haunting imp of doubt keeps whispering that the straw votes are not as infallible a guide to the thoughts of the imperial and untrammeled electorate—see advts.—this year as they have been in the past.

It never pays to take too much for granted in American politics. Or in any other kind of politics, for that matter. One of the Notebook's friends can still start his cold sweat glands to working by recalling the issue of his paper that carried a leading editorial beginning, "It is all over—Edward has been crowned king of England." It should have been all over by that date-line, to be sure, but Edward had come down with the flu, or something, and the coronation had been indefinitely postponed.

About the only wisdom that the Notebook has to dispense on the campaign that has still to close next yesterday is that it's tired of it. Perhaps the radio is to blame. In the old days, when the candidates were restricted to the endless columns of the New York Times and as much space as the other newspapers could spare, one could give the headlines an occasional going over and perhaps attend a rally or two, and let it go at that. But this night after night business, with the manufacturers of Backbreaker Scrubbing Brushes kindly giving up their time, has brought the Notebook to a point where the mere sound of the words, "We now take you to Opelaika, Alabama, where the Honorable Pishposh McTucket will address you—" makes us a menace to little children and defenseless old ladies.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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EDITORIAL

AS THE engrossing excitement of the campaign passes away, American citizens will lift their eyes from the political arena to find the annual campaigns for welfare funds under way in almost all our cities. There is a note of desperation in the appeals this year which cannot be missed. Although these funds are generally designed to care only for the sick, the mentally and physically handicapped, and the regular institutions which serve the needy, leaving the relief of the able-bodied unemployed to other sources, the industrial situation has produced a vast increase in the number of such institutional cases. It was announced last week, for example, that the number of children in institutions throughout the country has increased 48 per cent since July, 1930. Local conditions vary, but it is true over practically the entire country that the human need is much greater than it was a year ago at this time, while the budgets of the funds to be raised have been reduced. Yet drive workers state that the outlook for raising these reduced budgets is not good. Admonition seems a waste of words in such a situation. It is America's capacity for genuine self-sacrifice that is being put to the test.

Community Fund Drives

Ominous Signs In England

WHILE there are many reasons for looking with misgiving at American employment prospects for the coming winter, the situation in Great Britain is even more disquieting. The march of the unemployed on London, the riots before Buckingham palace and in Lambeth, the various disorders that have occurred in other English cities cannot be dismissed lightly. For the present the police will deal competently with such disturbances as they arise. But why are they arising? And what do they portend for the future? On the surface most of these riots have resulted from the rise in the level of unemployment with a simultaneous fall in the level of relief. Not only did the national government, on taking office a year ago, immediately cut the funds available for relief by thirty million pounds, but local boards have been applying the so-called "means test" with a stringency that has, in many places, precluded help from all save absolute paupers. At the same time, the number of unemployed has kept going up until now it stands at a new peak of more than three million. The riots are a result. But signs increase that they represent something deeper than a mere protest against present relief administration. Despite the recent shift to the left by the labor party, which has expelled MacDonald and Snowden, brought the resignation of Henderson from leadership, and almost pushed Lansbury out of the picture, it begins to look as though the working classes in England were about to leave that party as an instrument for obtaining their ends and turn to direct action, perhaps on the communist model. For years Britain has been pointed to as evidence of the Anglo-Saxon preference for constitutional reform by orderly means. It is hardly too much to say that proponents of the ballot box as a means of changing social maladjustments have relied upon England as their justifying illustration. If now the masses of England lose their confidence in democratic methods, that change will be felt around the world.

The Whole Church Under Review

NOVEMBER 18 has been named as the day upon which the complete report of the Laymen's foreign mission inquiry is to be made public. But as that day nears, and the concluding instalments in the appraisal commission's preliminary reports reach the press, the question grows as to whether this inquiry may not, ultimately, have more effect on the character of the church in the west than in the east.

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Surely, as one reads the recently released sections on "What shall be the place of evangelism in Christian missions?" "The attitude of the Christian mission toward the errors of non-Christian religions," and "What should be the aim of foreign missions?" the reflection persists that the words of the investigators apply with inescapable force to religious conditions in the occident. Take, for example, the report on errors in other faiths. There, after making the point that a distinction is always to be drawn in the religious systems of Asia between the religion of the people, of the priestly class and of the professional holy men, of the scholars and reformers, and of the intelligent laity, the commission goes on to deal with that superstition which has always been regarded as one of the principal justifications for missionary effort. Superstition, says the commission, is just as characteristic of Christians drawn from low cultural levels as of adherents of other faiths. And it must be met "by promoting the scientific habit of mind, . . . by making clear what the function of religion is, in completing the unfinished world-view of science, . . . by working with enlightened members of all faiths for a non-superstitious conception of providence and prayer." Very good; but why does this job need doing any more in India than in Indiana?

Not Doctrine But New Life Is the Need

AGAIN, when the Laymen's commission deals with the work of evangelism and seeks to phrase the aim of missions, one cannot help feeling that the major application should be to western conditions. The doctrinal preaching that is common in mission lands, says the report, not only gets nowhere in producing changed characters, but the sort of converts it attracts provoke the scorn of the thoughtful in the community. The only kind of evangelism that has any importance now is one that deals with "the realization and fulfilment of life and those methods and processes and energies by which life can be brought to its divine possibilities." It must also be so much at home in the modern intellectual world that it will compel the attention and respect of the student classes, who are at present largely indifferent. "Somehow the church of Christ . . . must answer to the yearning in the hearts of youth for a deeper significance of life and for the discovery of a genuine basis for such a deeper significance." Surely the commissioners do not think that this is a situation somewhere on the other side of the Pacific that they are talking about! And the aim of missions? "To seek with people of other lands a true knowledge and love of God, expressing in life and word what we have learned through Jesus Christ, and endeavoring to give effect to his spirit in the life of the world." "The church of this order," say the commissioners, "will be a spiritual organism which can further the true ends of life. With that purpose in view, modes of baptism will take a place of lesser importance; forms of ecclesiastical organization will fall into the background; the exact formulation of doctrinal phrases will have less significance; statistics as a measure of success will drop out of focus; and all the great lines of missionary activity will converge on the primary business of raising as many persons as possible into their full measure of life and preparing them to make their contribution to the world." But again, why more in India than in Indiana?

Geneva Faces Many World Problems

ALMOST every important problem in a world which is bristling with important problems will come up for discussion in Geneva during the next few weeks. The league never faced a more momentous session than that which opened on October 31. Preparation for the world monetary and economic conference will be under way. The disarmament conference will resume its sessions with the hearing of the new French plan. Within two or three weeks the Lytton report on the Manchurian situation will be formally presented, to be followed by such discussion and such action as may develop. Although not a member of the league, the United States will have a prominent role in every part of this program. Those who believe that the United States should join the league may continue to argue that, if we are going so far, we might as well go all the way, but it will be impossible for them to revive the scornful denunciation of our "isolationist" policy without doing violence to the most obvious facts. Whatever may be the characteristics of the American attitude toward world problems, isolation is not one of them. Almost every important problem is on the agenda, but not quite all. The important exceptions are the debts to America and tariffs. But even these, and especially the question of the debts, will be brought into the picture before conclusions have been reached. The debts cannot be paid. Everybody knows that. The real question is, upon what terms and for what concessions shall a readjustment be made. The major presidential candidates have both declared against cancellation, no doubt sincerely, but the debts are the most valuable part of the trading-stock which the American delegates take to Geneva, and they can be traded for international arrangements which will be worth a good deal more than they are.

Football or Bull Fights?

WHEN a group of college presidents are observed in a huddle apparently considering the signal for the next play, it is an even chance that that is just what they are doing—framing a play to circumvent the threatening disaster from over-built athletic plants. A few years ago there was an epidemic of stadia, in many cases built with the pro-

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ceeds of bond issues which were supposed to be "self-liquidating" (O blessed word!) from the proceeds of future football games. A little later, and right down to the edge of the depression, came the era of the "field house." (A field house used to be a house conveniently located in a corner of the athletic field so that members of the teams could change their clothes and not have to parade the streets in their uniforms and greatly in need of a bath. Now it is a house that covers a field.) It was in the field house of Butler university, "seating 22,000," that President Hoover delivered his Indianapolis speech last week. To have such a field house ministers mightily to alumni pride. The trouble is that, like many others, it is not paid for, and the Butler president does not see how it ever can be. "Gate receipts will not pay the $1,000,000 indebtedness on our athletic plant." And Butler's case is no worse than that of many other institutions. President Pritchett of the Carnegie foundation contributed a helpful hint when, in the Atlantic, he suggested that intercollegiate horse-racing be substituted for football, which is no longer drawing million-dollar gates. "It is a better money-maker than a football show. It is the sort of event on which the old grads and the undergrads can bet in more ways than they can even in football. . . . It is more conservative to tie up to horse-racing as a steady income than to football." Before that suggestion is adopted, other possibilities ought to be explored. There is bull-fighting. Ernest Hemingway's latest release depicts the beauties of that sport. Neither stadium nor field house is big enough for a good horse-race—unless it be like Siena's *palio*—and either would be perfectly right for a bull fight. If the standard Spanish bull fight is deemed too rough, there is the bloodless French sort, which is a glorified game of tag with the bull always *it*. A less fantastic proposal, perhaps, would be polo. Anyway, something will have to be done to keep athletics, which has long been the support on which many colleges have floated in the sea of publicity, from becoming a weight to drag them down to bankruptcy.

A Challenge to the Men of the Advertising Profession

NO BODY of men in the United States has spent more time in recent years in discussing the "ethics" of its business than the advertising agents. Elaborate codes of professional conduct have been formulated; resounding slogans adopted; countless convention sessions devoted to pep talks on how to make the advertisement writer a priest of the true, the beautiful, and the good. It is a sorrowful commentary on all this that there is probably today no portion of the business community whose high protestations are generally regarded with more skepticism, or whose output is widely considered to contain a greater degree of buncombe. We have no desire to annoy our advertising friends by adding to the familiar complaints against their products. But we do desire to bring to their attention a few sentences, written in connection with an entirely different subject, by one of the most distinguished economists in the United States. Considering the relation of education to social problems, Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver, of Harvard, has this to say in the Christian Science Monitor:

> There was a time when the church and the school were the most effective agencies for changing tastes, habits, and standards of conduct. Modern advertising now rivals them. Unfortunately, modern advertising is always on the side of the money maker. If the money maker is running a useful business, advertising may be a good thing. If he is running a socially harmful business, advertising is a bad thing; and the more skilful it is, the worse it is.

These words contain a truth which may, to thoughtful members of the advertising profession, go far toward explaining why the ethical codes and the other methods so far adopted have accomplished so little in convincing the public of the profession's social responsibility. We especially recommend them for study and discussion among advertising men in these days when, as has been previously reported in these pages, there is an expectation in some quarters that the liquor traffic will soon be clamoring for a chance to gain a new constituency.

Revenue From Beer Is a Vain Hope

THE CURIOUSLY elusive quality of governmental income from the liquor business is a circumstance which should be thoughtfully considered by those who view the return of legal beer and wine as the key to the solution of all our economic difficulties, the balancing of the federal budget and the provision of jobs for everybody. Mention has already been made of the inability of the Scotch distillers to market their product at home, and the consequent disappointment of the government in the matter of revenue. The Bahama islands, which wallowed in wealth for a while as a station on one of the principal routes for relaying bootleg liquor into the United States, is now lamenting the shrinkage of its revenues from the inflated figures which they reached in 1923 to a point approximating the pre-prohibition level. At the highest point, the tax on liquor imported into the islands obviously to be transshipped surreptitiously to the United States raised the government's revenue to eight times normal. That gain has all been lost. However woefully prohibition may have "failed," one is forced to believe that the leakage through that particular crack must have been pretty effectually plugged. Our own treasury has had its minor disappointments in the failure of some of the new taxes to produce the expected revenue, but in none of them was the disparity between prediction and actuality as great as in the tax on the ingredients of home-brew. Calculated to produce $20,500,000 per quarter, the actual yield for the quarter ending September 30 was

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$1,400,000. Evidently home-brewing has gone out of fashion too. One remembers also that the wine-brick business blew up some time ago, apparently from lack of patronage. All of these things need to be thought about by those who are still hopefully figuring that a tax of 25 per cent on legal beer will put five hundred million dollars annually into the federal treasury.

The Campaign Ends

BY a progressive descent the campaign has come to its end on an inferior level of debate between the two leading candidates. There was so insubstantial a difference between the two platforms that the contest was bound to move with increasing intensity into the realm of querulous wrangling. President Hoover has had to bear the brunt of his own campaign. He had no Borah or Hughes to carry the oriflamme; he therefore had to carry it himself. Except for the secretary of the treasury, Ogden Mills, the republican party has not been able to thrust into the campaign a single speaker of persuasive power and original mentality. For the most part, the speeches have been the usual hack work of the party henchmen and the lesser candidates, all of them copy-book productions based upon instructions from party headquarters, or pale imitations of the models set by the President at Des Moines, Cleveland, Detroit, and Indianapolis.

As for the democrats, leaving Mr. Roosevelt himself out of account, they too have been unable to offer a single speaker whose intellectual quality commanded sincere respect beyond the circles of those already convinced or wanting to be convinced. The public had been kept so long on a tiptoe of expectancy by Alfred E. Smith that when he did finally break his silence the whole nation was at the loud speaker. Mr. Garner, though second place candidate on the democratic ticket, was heard only once, and thereafter he was probably tied hand and foot with a gag in his mouth and put under a guard with orders not to release him until after election.

Probably there has never been waged a presidential campaign so noteworthy for the absence of competent disinterested voices. We can think of no outstanding college president or conspicuous teacher or publicist who has felt constrained to take the stump for either Mr. Hoover or Mr. Roosevelt. No doubt the radio is a considerable explanation of this fact. When the whole nation can hear every speech of the major figures in the contest the people are more or less indifferent to the eloquence of lesser orators.

Mr. Hoover has woven into the fabric of his arguments three dominant threads—optimism, militancy and conservatism. He has sought to create the belief that recovery has already begun. In his New York address last week he reported that one million of the unemployed had gone back to work since last July. The statement does not appear in the printed text of the address and it is not clear whether or not the President meant to convey the impression that the total number of the unemployed had been reduced by one million. The strategy of his optimistic emphasis has been all to the President's advantage, for Mr. Roosevelt could hardly make a counter-attack on this optimism, even by bringing forward indisputable facts, without seeming to "sell the United States short." The indices of actual business conditions to which the public has access certainly do not warrant the confident note of exaggerated optimism which runs through all the President's campaign speeches.

It is reasonable enough to believe that business conditions will definitely begin to improve after the election, and that they will improve much more quickly and calculably if Mr. Hoover is elected than if Mr. Roosevelt is elected. But to say that the improvement has substantially begun when unemployment is at its maximum, and wheat and corn are touching the lowest mark in two hundred and fifty years, is simply to talk campaign fiction.

The militant note in Mr. Hoover's strategy has proved effective. By dramatizing the past three years as a great battle waged by the government and the people of the nation against an invasion of hostile forces from abroad, the President has evoked popular enthusiasm for himself as the commander in chief of the defending forces. It was this military imagery more than any other factor, which broke down the reticence with which the popular mind has regarded Mr. Hoover ever since he took office. He has not been a colorful President, and his contacts with the people on the few occasions when he left Washington to speak have never evoked enthusiasm. He has perhaps been remiss in not cultivating his own popularity. Temperamentally it has been distasteful to him to do so.

But from the moment when the Maine election disclosed the omen of possible defeat, Mr. Hoover buckled on his armor and went forth to fight. His Des Moines speech revealed a new Hoover. He has maintained the role of a fighting man ever since. He has succeeded in hanging on the walls of popular imagination the picture of the "American system" besieged by foreign forces and defended by himself and the republican party, who now have the invader in retreat on "a hundred fronts." This fighting spirit of the commander, and the casting of the whole experience of the depression into the imagery of battle, has evoked an intense enthusiasm for the President personally, hardly exceeded by that which Woodrow Wilson and even Theodore Roosevelt were accustomed to receive in their most exciting tours among the people.

The counsel of conservatism has been the chief structural idea in the President's speeches. He has given it both a doctrinal and a practical emphasis. Doctrinal: The "American system" with its tariffs, its gold standard, its alleged non-interference of the government with private business, its "rugged individualism" and its "equality of opportunity," is really a

creation of the republican party and can best be preserved by continuing that party in power. Practical: This of all times is not the time to risk inexperienced hands at the helm of the ship, and especially when the very experience of the past three years has equipped the present captain and crew with an understanding of the forces and problems involved which new leadership could not hope to acquire save after the lapse of much time and the consequent prolongation of human distress. Practical also, in that the business community knows what to expect of a re-elected republican administration, has confidence in it, and would therefore respond with the maximum of confidence in starting the wheels of industry to grinding again.

This is the outline of Mr. Hoover's campaign appeal. To characterize Mr. Roosevelt's strategy is not so easy. His position has been the most difficult that could be imagined. His success depends upon his power to carry the support of constituencies representing opposite poles of political thought. To begin with, he must win the support of the great mass of voters who are discontented as a result of economic distress. But he must carry several conservative states, and this he cannot do if his candidacy is interpreted as radical. On another side, he is being supported by most of the radical leaders of both his own and the republican parties. These must be given assurances that the particular innovations in government for which they stand are sympathetically viewed by him.

How can a candidate ride so many horses all going in different directions? Mr. Roosevelt has performed as well as any man could in such a position. He has adopted a bold, even a truculent, tone of voice in attacking the Hoover administration. He has held out intriguing and ample promises to the distressed farmer and worker. And he has maintained a tactful silence—where silence was the part of discretion. As a consequence, Mr. Roosevelt's policies are today but little better known than when the campaign opened. Whether, if elected, he will be a conservative or a radical President, no man can say. He has laid the foundations for both types of policy. He won the nomination without divulging his views, and he has carried on his campaign with much speaking, yet up to this hour his fellow citizens cannot by an analysis of his utterances forecast the kind of President he intends to be.

From the standpoint of the large body of voters who are actuated by the vague hope that a change—any kind of change—may bring them better luck, Mr. Roosevelt has made himself an attractive candidate. But the whole campaign has been an unsatisfactory one to the citizen who looks below the surface of the depression, who is not taken in by Mr. Hoover's optimism, or his republicanized picture of the "American system," or his fallacious doctrine of rugged individualism, any more than he is taken in by Mr. Roosevelt's empty gestures of attack, or his specious promises for which he offers no means of fulfilment.

The fact is that neither candidate has faced the situation with understanding and candor. The great issues have not been discussed. Most of the arguments have dealt with mere "talking points" by which to score on the opponent and to discredit him. Each has resorted to preposterous exaggeration of the other's position—Mr. Hoover especially in his New York speech where he said that the issue is not between two men, or two parties, but between two philosophies of government! Mr. Roosevelt has not touched the international aspects of the depression, nor any questions of foreign policy. Mr. Hoover dealt with them, but more for the purpose of absolving his administration from Mr. Roosevelt's silly contention that it was the republican administration that brought on the world catastrophe. True, Mr. Hoover seemed in his Cleveland speech to approve Senator Borah's thesis of a sweeping adjustment of the international economic and disarmament issues in which the European debts due the United States were to be utilized, but he seemed to hedge on this point in Indianapolis when he inserted the phrase "payment for payment," which goes back to his original position of dealing with each debtor nation one at a time.

But a still more pointed criticism is that neither candidate seems to envisage the gravity of the breakdown that has befallen our economic order. Mr. Roosevelt childishly charges that republican policies are responsible for it. Mr. Hoover charges its origin to adverse conditions in the other nations. Neither will see that what has happened, both here and abroad, is that the capitalistic system itself has broken down. That system has revealed itself as incapable of supporting human wellbeing under the conditions of modern life.

Something far more drastic than either candidate proposes is required if the ten million unemployed are put to work again. As a means of getting the largest possible number of them to work again as quickly as possible, we favor the election of Mr. Hoover, as between the two effective candidates. But we favor it as a relief measure to stop as much of the acute distress as possible, just as we favor other relief measures like charity or state aid. We have no more illusion that Mr. Hoover's campaign philosophy is an adequate solution of the economic problem than we have about the lasting effectiveness of charity or state aid.

Mr. Hoover, if elected, will surely be driven by events from his doctrinaire *laissez faire* position before many months have passed. The automatic processes of the capitalistic system will not reabsorb the ten million unemployed. This unemployment is not the result of just another business cycle. It is that, but it is more than that. It is characterized by a wholly new phenomenon—the displacement of human labor by the machine. Scientific intelligence has brought us to the point where the very success of industry spells increasing unemployment. There must be a good deal more management of economic forces and fiscal processes than Mr. Hoover now envisages.

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A major surgical operation will, soon or late, have to be performed.

Whether that operation takes the form of a levy on capital, as proposed by Norman Thomas, to secure a fund of perhaps fifty billion dollars with which to pay off the national debt, provide immediate relief to debt ridden counties, municipalities, and mortgaged farm and home owners, and to give direct aid to the unemployed—whether this is just the specific operation required to relieve the cancer of our two hundred billion dollars of fixed debt, need not be discussed here. But it is tragic that the campaign has come to its end without the presentation to the people of any proposal of adequate magnitude by way of preparing them for the radical action to which the economic system must submit if its disease is to be even temporarily brought under control.

The Price of Pacifism

ARMISTICE DAY is here again. With its return myriads of thoughtful people will find themselves wondering why the efforts to establish a stable world peace make such slow progress. There is no longer much debate as to the futility of war. There can be no escape from the specter of bankruptcy. The dread of mankind at the prospect of again experiencing the tortures of modern warfare must be apparent to the world's statesmen. And the nations, in signing the Pact of Paris, have committed themselves to pacifism. Why, then, do not the passing years mark swifter, surer, more resolute progress toward a world in which men will confidently believe that the difficulties of nations, as they arise, will in truth be settled only by pacific means? The solemn promise of the Kellogg pact guards the approach to all the millions of graves that are the shrine of Armistice day. But why are men and nations so slow to act as though that promise meant what it says?

An attempt to answer that question may bring both hope and gravity into the approaching celebration. Hope, first of all, in the realization that there *is* such a pact, creating the juridical basis for a new international law that will be evolved as an alternative for the old law that rested ultimately upon the appeal to arms. And gravity, in the realization that the pact cannot, of itself, create in a moment the sort of world in which its aspirations—and its promises—will be certainly fulfilled. There is too much history, too much of an entail of evil waiting liquidation to make the attainment of a new order of world pacifism any easy goal, or one to be won at a bound. This much the pact has already done—it has made the goal plain; it has pledged the nations to its achievement. But the process of giving to this declaration of pacific intent that moral authority which must undergird its statutory expression involves the payment of great costs, moral costs, most of which are as yet unperceived, and so unpaid. A settled order of world pacifism can be bought only at a great price, and as Armistice day returns it is well to look realistically at the instalments of that payment which still remain to be met.

What price must the nations pay before they can give up their ultimate reliance upon arms?

The first step toward the payment of the moral costs of a world pacifism is, obviously, a recognition among all civilized peoples of the sacredness of treaties. This will not in itself make the world secure against war, but until treaties are given this status it is clear that mankind can make no progress toward a secure world order of *any* kind. Yet even this first instalment of the cost of peace has still to be fully paid. The contention of the Japanese foreign minister last January that conditions in China justified his nation in "modifying the application"—to use the diplomatic term invented—of the Nine-power and other treaties, was a vote in favor of international anarchy. If treaties once made can be "modified"—that is, ignored—at will, then no nation dares disarm.

But if a pacifist world requires recognition of the sacredness of treaties, then this equally requires that the treaties involved shall rest upon morally secure grounds. If a treaty is to be regarded as eternally binding just because it has been extorted, then the very agencies of peace are in danger of being converted into bulwarks of a brutalized international society. No theory of treaty rights can be upheld as long as there is no genuine mutuality of negotiation. Such agitation as has grown out of the "unequal treaties" in China during the past decade is enough in itself to show that a second cost involved in gaining a world at peace is an examination of the moral basis underlying these international instruments. The Hoover doctrine, refusing recognition to gains made by resort to force, is an attempt to safeguard future international relations at precisely this point.

This recognition of the requirement of a moral basis for treaties, however, leads to acknowledgment that a large number of the present treaties between nations require overhauling. Germany is making this vivid at the moment, and her insistence is gradually bringing even her late enemies to admit that the hope of maintaining peace in Europe involves revision of the treaty of Versailles, and of certain arrangements growing out of that treaty. But can the United States hope to pose as a pacifist nation in Haiti until there have been further treaty revisions there? Can Great Britain in Egypt? Can France in Syria? One of the most revealing moments in the Washington conference of 1922 came when, after China had appealed for a wiping out of the treaties which grew out of the Japanese Twenty-one demands of 1915, on the ground of lack of freedom in negotiation, the Japanese delegation observed that to abrogate treaties thus obtained would be to "establish an exceedingly dangerous precedent . . . with

far-reaching consequences upon the stability of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere." The other nations represented at Washington thought so too, and let the matter drop. But if these nations hope to live in a world of lasting peace they must show themselves ready to revise any of the treaties which, claiming to serve as the foundation for that peace, seem to those concerned to perpetuate injustice.

At this point, accordingly, it becomes plain that a part of the price that will have to be paid for the pacifism which the nations have avowed is a review of the status of colonies. Are the treaties which will underlie a better world order to be merely a means of "freezing" the map as it now is? Undoubtedly that was one object which the victors at Versailles had in mind when they wrote the covenant of the league. But it is at that very point—the obligation of league members to go to war to maintain the territorial assignments of that treaty—that the covenant has broken down and must be rewritten. So far as the relation of this question of colonies to future peace is concerned, there was much more of hope in the much derided mandate system inaugurated in the same treaty. For there at least the principle of trusteeship and of an annual international review was acknowledged. It is a loss to the hope of peace that, in the intervening years, the tendency has been away from rather than toward a greater development of the mandate system. Certainly one part of the moral cost of pacifism to the great nations that have put their names at the foot of the Kellogg pact is some means by which the inhabitants of their colonies may be offered an open road to freedom without resort to arms. Otherwise, if that door of hope is closed, the day will never come when the colonial imperialisms can lessen their military outlays.

And in this same connection it appears that these same nations must offer a way for the redressing of the racial balances, so that the non-white peoples may look forward with confidence to a day when they shall be in control of enough of the earth to support their nations. As things now stand, between three-fourths and seven-eighths of the habitable land surface is under white control, and from large sections, now only thinly inhabited, non-white migrants are excluded. The resurgence of racial consciousness characteristic of the present century has already produced a high emotional tension in certain quarters. Japan, for example, is suffering from a bad case of international claustrophobia, which goes far toward explaining the seeming irrationality of some of her acts. An even more dangerous case of the same sort is practically sure to develop in South Africa within the next few years, unless there are radical changes in white policy there.

Experience is showing, likewise, that there are spots on earth where no treaty provisions, resting on the premise of existing governments exercising real authority, can be relied on to maintain peace. There is merit in Japan's contention that Manchuria was such a spot, although there is no merit in Japan's method of dealing with the difficulty. The Gran Chaco region appears to be another. Macedonia may be another. The Lytton commission, in reporting on Manchuria, has proposed a method of international handling of that problem which, if given the chance, would have every likelihood of keeping the peace internally while removing the danger of war between the outside nations interested in the fate of the region. But one cost of protecting world peace against the dangers that may suddenly arise out of such semi-governed or ungoverned regions will be the rendering of power to some international authority to provide, in advance of need, the sort of non-partisan investigation and administration that the Lytton commission is now recommending for Manchuria after the trouble has involved the whole world.

All these are parts of the price that the nations will have to pay if they mean to make good on their promise to settle all their difficulties by pacific means. But the biggest part of the cost has still to be faced. A lasting world pacifism will require a great, but still unmeasured, invasion of national sovereignty. It is at this point that the nations will prove most unwilling to pay the cost, but there can be no question about the requirement. President Hoover stirred his audience at Indianapolis last week by his pledge that he would allow no discussion of tariffs in any world economic conference, for to allow other nations to discuss such a domestic issue would, he averred, be to do something that this nation had not permitted for a hundred and fifty years. But unless this nation and all the nations are ready to contemplate doing things that they have never done before—surrendering their freedom of action in some respects to international control—the outlook for an enduring world pacifism is hopeless. A working pacifism cannot be maintained in a world of unimpaired national sovereignties.

The final moral cost of pacifism is therefore the stigma of lack of patriotism. It is that price which will have to be paid before a world can be achieved in which there is sufficient mutual trust to make genuine disarmament possible. Nations must give up the claim to be the sole judges of their own actions; they must be ready to affirm that "above all nations is humanity" and that above their own law is a new law formulated in the interests of all mankind. We are still so far from having reached this point that even to affirm that we will have to reach it will be enough to convince an overwhelming majority that a pacifist world order is either unattainable or undesirable. But let there be no dodging of the issue. If the world order which the Kellogg pact envisages is ever made secure, if the present "international anarchy" of which G. Lowes Dickinson wrote ever gives way to a world permanently at peace, a large part of the moral price to be paid will be in terms of a surrender of separate sovereignties.

The individual pacifist, advocating the submission

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of his nation's acts to the review of some extra-national body, may solace himself with the reflection that his is the highest form of patriotism. But it is useless to hope that, in the eyes of the crowd, it can be made to seem so. On the contrary, while there is a jingo press, while there are rabble-rousing politicians, while there are organizations devoted to fostering national truculence and irresponsibility, for the statesman, for the peace-worker, for the church to step forward as an advocate of paying the costs here enumerated is to invite martyrdom. But secure world peace cannot be had at any lesser price.

Through the Pores

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: These are days when the highbrows are taking a cut in their chief stock-in-trade. Since the physicists have proved to be so facile in their ability to adapt themselves to the new facts of observation, we have Heisenberg elevating the irrational to the peerage and Bridgeman introducing us to a causeless world like that of Alice in Wonderland and Baron Munchausen in Russia. It seems to me, Mr. Editor, that I recall the name of one Tertullian, who would feel quite at home among the neo-Newtonians, for he said, "The fact is certain, because it is impossible."

It may be disconcerting, but it certainly is as thrilling as a political fight to see how Bertrand Russell sets Jeans and Eddington up for a battle in which the former gives us a mathematician behind the scenes and the latter espouses the cause of the volitionists. But, sir, have we not constantly witnessed these two tendencies? Seldom do we see them combined in one personality. Pascal, who invented a calculating machine, was able to discern the truth that "the heart has its reasons, which reason does not know." Usually, however, the protest against "the freezing reason's colder part" comes from those who insist that other forms of experience than that of the statistical process and the analytical method are necessary.

Where was it that I saw somewhere the claim that we in the United States only use our minds to lubricate our machinery? Keyserling would probably classify us as the "chauffeur type," the primitive man made technical. Another gentleman who views us from his ivory tower and uses English lenses says we are "contemptuous of ideas, but amorous of devices." I know, Mr. Editor, that if James Russell Lowell's words about education were repeated in a college convocation there might be a riot, but he did say that "a true university is a place where nothing useful is learned," and Everett Dean Martin has recently repeated much the same sentiment.

Yet, sir, I would not have you think we must surrender to the anti-intellectuals. Heaven forbid! It is enough to have syndicalists, dictators, Ku kluxers and pragmatists in this class. Neither should we capitulate to the Freudians who make the intellect to do chores for the emotions, and by "rationalization" to find "good" reasons for "real" reasons.

Let ours be the more modest task of insisting that the paradox of Paul is a reality. There is a knowledge which surpasses knowledge. It is the revelation to babes which is hid from the wise and prudent, not because they are such, but because truth can be assimilated through the pores when the grey matter is nonporous. Why should it be thought that Truth can come to us only through the medium of the logical and intellectual? Do we not all experience reality acquired by means of sympathetic *rapport?* Instead of an understanding *of* something, we have an understanding *with* it. We absorb fully as much as we reason, and intuition saves us from the unreasonableness of a purely rational world. May I prescribe one reading of Hans Christian Andersen's "Emperor's New Clothes" and remain,

Yours for truth through the pores,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Armistice

WE FACE the nations with one hand outstretched
In greeting, and with peace upon our lips;
But in our hearts a question, in our minds
The haunting echoes of the song of war,
The song that sets the world a-tremble still
And shakes the very pillars of our faith.

How long before the peace can pass our lips,
Can claim our minds and drive out old distrust?
To doubt mankind is but to doubt ourselves.
When shall our fingers dare to drop the sword,
While with unquestioning eyes we reach two hands
In open comradeship to all the world?

EUNICE MITCHELL LEHMER.

Samaritans

TIRED mothers bent and gnarled with drudgery,
Their faces lined with hopelessness and cares
That eat into their souls, yet no one shares
The loads that crush their lives relentlessly. . . .

Tired fathers, men who face tomorrow's threat
With courage born of desperate despair,
With hope, with frantic, maddened hope that there
Will somehow show a bit of light—and yet. . . .

And last, the little tots that seek the street,
Their only home, in ragged, filthy clothes
And hunger frightened eyes, for no one knows
When there was food—or will be food!—to eat. . . .

Are these my brothers? These! If so, can I
Shrink back into myself and pass them by?

LOUISE A. STINETORF.

Sunday Manners

By Charles Herbert Huestis

A FEW YEARS ago a distinguished English jurist and parliamentarian, Lord Moulton, gave a striking address to the Authors' club in London on "Law and Manners." "There are," he said, "three great domains of human action. First comes positive law, where our actions are prescribed by laws binding on us which must be obeyed. Next comes the domain of free choice, which includes all the actions as to which we claim to enjoy complete freedom. But between these two there is a third large and important domain where there is no law which inexorably determines our course of action, and yet we feel that we are not free to choose as we would. The obedience in this domain is the obedience of one to that which he cannot be forced to obey. He is the enforcer of the law upon himself." This great country between positive law and free choice Lord Moulton calls the domain of manners. "It covers all cases of right doing where there is no one to make you do it but yourself."

The Heritage of Custom

I was thinking of what Lord Moulton had to say when I began this article and gave it its title. Take Sunday as an institution the observance of which involves us in all three domains. Sunday conduct is, first of all, to a considerable extent prescribed by law; business and industry which are not of the character of necessity and mercy are usually banned. Outside this domain of law lies that of free choice, and in America, generally speaking, this is a very wide domain indeed. But Sunday observance involves also the domain of manners, because of our religious and social inheritance. There are certain customs, traditions and loyalties connected with Sunday which have been observed for ages by our race. Sunday has always been a day primarily devoted to religious culture and worship, and to its use in this way we owe some of our finest national characteristics. There is no law which requires our obedience to the canons of this domain. If we concur ours is the "obedience of the unenforceable."

What is the general attitude in America toward Sunday in the domain of manners? This depends largely upon the particular traditions and customs in which one has been brought up. There are two main traditions which we may call the Puritan and the Catholic. The Puritan tradition is reflected in the Westminster shorter catechism which enjoins not only "holy resting on that day" but also "spending the whole time in public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as may be taken up in works of necessity and mercy." The Catholic tradition, which is also that of the great reformers, Luther, Cranmer, Tyndale, Calvin and John Knox, gives primacy to religious worship in Sunday conduct, but looks with indulgence upon the recreations of the people after their religious duties have been performed.

Catholic Manners on Sunday

I am reminded when I visit the province of Quebec, Canada, on a Sunday of the difference which prevails in Catholic and non-Catholic communities in Canada, and I often ask myself whether I am not witnessing a healthier scheme of Sunday observance there than that which obtains, in theory at least, in the non-Catholic communities of the other provinces. The French in Quebec and the Irish overseas may be called peoples of church-going sabbath breakers. In the old days, before Ireland won her dominion status, Orange writers in England used to attribute the woes of the Irish to the fact that they were a nation of sabbath breakers. As a matter of fact the Irish observe Sunday quite as well as the English, or even the Scotch, but in a different manner. An Irishman may go to a hurling match on Sunday afternoon just as a French Canadian may go to a ball game; but neither of them would have a clear conscience if in the morning he had not been to church and said what the former calls "his mouthful of prayers." The non-Catholics in Canada and the United States keep the sabbath in theory, but, to an ever greater extent, they break it in practice; without bothering too much about going to church either.

There are many non-Catholics today who urge frankly that while the morning hours on Sunday should be devoted to worship and the evening hours to the home, the afternoon may be given to sport and recreation of a non-commercial character without the fear of social or ecclesiastical censure. Many of the clergy are beginning to see that the alternative ways of spending Sunday are not church going minus recreation or recreation minus church going, but church going plus recreation and recreation minus church going.

Influence of the Cinema

That the question of Sunday manners is an important one is evident from the attention given by the press to any event where past customs in this regard are called in question. No event of recent years has stirred England so profoundly as the recent movement to legitimate the Sunday cinema. Similar events have occurred recently in some of the eastern states of America, with a similar reaction. May it not be that the time has come in America to ask the question, What shall our Sunday manners be? Which of the above traditions shall we follow ourselves and teach to our children? That religion should have a paramount place in our Sunday customs, especially with children and youth, will be

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conceded by most thinking persons, even if they do not themselves habitually attend church. But there are many who would go farther than that. Said an eminent statesman of Scotch descent a short time ago, addressing a great gathering of free churchmen, "I am amazed at many of my friends who say that the old Scotch sabbath was a burden. I would like to see a state of society in which every man and woman preferred the old Scotch sabbath to the modern Parisian one, for in such a state of society you would have fine, solid, eternal foundations of character and self-command."

The Scotch-Puritan sabbath, with its somewhat dour aspect, is gone and the devil never feared holy-water more than some people fear its return. It is probable that their fears are groundless, but we may well ask whether it will be possible to develop in ourselves and in our children fine, solid, eternal foundations of character and self-command without something akin to it. The London Times, writing last year about the Sunday cinema movement referred to above, voiced the opinion of the vast number of people in England and America when it said: "At least we may be sure that among all classes there will be more health of mind and body, more poise and happiness, fewer cases of nervous breakdown, if we could, as a people, regain the use of Sunday as a quiet day, a day of worship and harmless amusement, instead of making it a day when we rush even more madly than on the other six."

What Shall Sunday Stand for?

The question before us, however, is not, Shall we try to bring back the sabbath of our fathers? The world in which our fathers lived is not our world and all the customs of our fathers cannot be our customs. The question is, What shall we do with Sunday? What shall the American Sunday stand for, outside the sphere in which the law functions? Shall it stand primarily for religion or shall it stand primarily for amusement, or shall it afford opportunity for both?

That recreation has a legitimate place in Sunday ought to go without question, as it would but for our Puritan tradition. The very idea of the Hebrew sabbath, from which our Sunday derives, involves that. There was a ban on work but there was no ban on play. The sabbath was a holiday for the working classes. The same was true of Sunday in the early Christian centuries; it knew nothing of the gloom and depression which characterized its observance in the later centuries. The reformers acted upon this matter of Sunday observance with the sanity and sense of reality which was characteristic of them. The idea that the Lord's day was based upon the sanctions of the fourth commandment they condemned roundly. Said Tyndale, "We be lords of the sabbath and may change it into Monday or any other day as we need." Said Calvin, "Christians should have nothing to do with the superstitious observance of days." John Knox had the strength of his conviction for he is said to have enjoyed a game of bowls on Sunday. The reformers held nevertheless that Sunday should be, primarily, a day of worship and devotion to the higher concerns of life; not for superstitious reasons or because of divine commandment, but because "human nature requires a day of rest and the soul demands quiet and leisure for worship."

A Rock for the Weary

The first day of the week has been a great rock in the face of a driving materialism behind which the weak, the weary and the overdriven have long found shelter. Do we need that rock today? I think we do, and I am sure our children do. M. Paul Valery in his book "Variety" dealing with the spiritual and moral wreckage incident to, and following the war, writes: "La Persopolis spirituelle n'est pas moin ravagée que la Suse materielle." In our day when past habits, loyalties, ideas, philosophies are in a state of flux, no more important question faces us than, What shall we do with Sunday? For as the flag symbolizes loyalty to country and the cross loyalty to Jesus, so Sunday is a symbol of loyalty to the ideal and spiritual aspects of life. We need standards today rather than rules of conduct; ideals rather than commands. The sabbath law was a rule of conduct: Sunday is a standard. Like the flag it does not command; it appeals.

The Christian church in America should find some socially constructive point of view for dealing with the question of Sunday observance. It ought to avoid the suspicion of using the law to ban rival attractions. After nearly a quarter of a century of experience, I am strongly of the opinion that the Sunday problem is not to be solved so much by law as by understanding. The efforts of the church in the past to bring the people to book in the matter of Sunday observance by force of law is not very pleasant reading. It would have been wiser if it had followed the example of its Master. His sabbath conduct was challenged by the religious leaders of his day because it repudiated authority. He did, and allowed his disciples to do, that which was not lawful on the sabbath day. Jesus replied by an appeal not to authority but to understanding when he said, "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath." No more revolutionary word was ever spoken. He laid the axe at the root of the tree of authority and at the same time sowed the seed which germinated in time and grew into the Lord's day to meet the spiritual, and finally the physical, needs of man.

Sport on Sunday

It is not the physical but the spiritual values of Sunday which are in danger today. The whole trend of modern thinking is in the direction of a larger leisure. Indeed the use of this leisure is one of the most serious problems of our time. The question may arise here of organized sports and amusement on a commercial basis. I think they should be banned

on Sunday like other forms of business of an unnecessary character. We do this in Canada and any movement towards laxity in regard to it meets with universal public disapproval. On the other hand, the voluntary sport and amusement of the people is not banned and the law provides that all shall have a day off in the week to use as seems best to themselves. Canadian law is a federal statute, the provinces having no power to enact Sunday legislation. Sunday laws in the United States, I am advised, are either so antiquated as to be annulled by custom, or are subject to constant tinkering by amendments. Sunday protective movements have been too largely obsessed by the sabbatarian idea.

I would like to see a conference of leaders in education and religious life in America to face the situation. The people are looking for guidance. We in Canada would be glad to take part in such a conference. Whether or not a common platform could be found I do not know but I think it would not be difficult to find acceptance to the following principles. Since the sabbath was made for man they may be summed up under body, mind and spirit:

Body, Mind and Spirit

Body: Besides rest, recreation should have a legitimate place in Sunday observance especially for children. To tell a child it must not play on Sunday is to say that for that period it must not be a child, for children express themselves naturally in play. The question of adult recreation has been discussed in this article.

Mind: Sunday should be a day for thought and meditation. No one can "live on twenty-four hours a day," really live, not simply vegetate, who does not give some attention to the serious side of life and the cultivation of his mind. Sunday affords additional leisure for this occupation and the man who does not devote part of the day to reading and thinking about matters outside his daily life and occupation becomes a slave to routine and the ability to think quickly declines.

Spirit: Sunday is a day of worship. Can we say that a man is spending Sunday well or doing his duty to himself and his family, or his community, who does not go to church at least once on Sunday? I need not add that Sunday is preeminently a day for the home and family life, the day when we have the leisure to follow the beautiful injunction of Froebel, "Come, let us live with our children." Of recent years a Sunday in May has been observed as Mother's day. Every Sunday is Mother's day. The other days of the week, work, school, athletic and social activities demand and receive the attention of the children, but on Sunday mother has her innings. She has, or should have, the children to herself to introduce them to the moral and spiritual inheritance of the race as inscribed in its sacred and inspired books, and art and music. She can know the feeling of her arms about them and she can know the feeling of their little minds and hearts, and watch what happens in their eyes.

I hope such a conference as I have suggested can be arranged. The matter is one of first importance. Said Voltaire, one of the most intelligent of men: "If you would destroy Christianity, you must first of all get rid of the Christian Sunday."

A Pacifist Defends the Legion

By Ernest L. Meyer

IT HAS BECOME the fashion of the liberal-religionist press, including The Christian Century, to decry the "soldier racket" and specifically to denounce the American Legion and the Bonus Expeditionary Force for high-handed methods in attempting to gouge compensation out of a depleted treasury. With this view I am in sharp disagreement. For I consider the B. E. F., the debacle in Washington, and the legion "raid" on the treasury as the most important, the most hopeful gesture toward demilitarization of the popular mind that has occurred since the World war.

The trouble with the liberal press is that it supposes the American public is being led into the pacifist camp by philosophical speculation on the uselessness of war as an arbiter of international dispute. Nothing can be more erroneous. The American public rarely speculates, save on the stock exchange. Anyone near to the man on the street knows that Gandhi-istic philosophy is as great an enigma to the average American as the fourth dimension. Pacifism, in his mind, remains a pink-teaish apology for cowardice. The fable of the military-hero has been perpetuated through too many generations for him to think otherwise, for it is a fable that is made immortal by every textbook, every song, every statue in the Hall of Fame, every bill-poster remembered from the hallowed days of the Liberty loan drives.

The Popular Mind

The popular mind rejects, instantly and completely, any attempt on the part of a liberal minority to paint these heroes as deluded victims of a capitalistic hegemony. Any such painting is dismissed as the invidious imagining of a "radical." The word "radical" still ruffles the fur of the average citizen despite starvation, despite poverty, despite everything. Anyone who believes that the masses have been stirred to revolt by disillusionment has never lived in a town wherein a third of the population is on the bread line, and wherein that same third still looks to one or the other of the dominant parties for a way out of the wilderness.

Now, if the critique of the pacifists cannot destroy the adulation of the military heroes, what can? The answer is obvious: only the heroes themselves. And they are doing it. Give them rope, and they will hoist themselves. The B. E. F. and the legion's demand for

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treasury loot have done more in two months to undermine the concept of disinterested patriotism than a decade of chatter by a pacifist minority. Therefore, rather than decry the "soldier racket," I wish it a long and lusty life. I wish it to remain articulate and militant. I wish it to be a perpetual thorn in the flesh of the administration, a constant, ugly reminder of an ugly war. An acquiescent war veteran, still spouting hallelujahs to Wilsonian hymnals, is playing into the hands of the Washington military bureaucrats. But a chesty, snorting, don't-give-a-damnish shavetail out of a job, willing to shoot it out with the rookies of the regular army, and ready to besiege even the white house sanctities, is a bone in the craw of the administration which no explanatory stump tour of a war secretary can dislodge.

The B. E. F. and the legion, in other words, have pulled the A. E. F. from its pedestal, and like Humpty Dumpty the A. E. F., as an idealistic entity, is permanently and fortunately squashed.

Soul Wounds

Thus far I have stated only a pacifist view of the legion. Curiously, I can sympathize with the legion's piggish demand for compensation from the point of view of the legionnaires themselves. What matter if the vast majority of them never saw service at the front? Were wounds in action the only wounds suffered by our three million conscripts? What about the indignities in the training camps? For half a year I lived with the draftees in four assorted cantonments. In each the degradation, the inhumane packing-house technique of "making soldiers" was enough to unmake any youth having the slightest sensitivity. Under the pressure and the isolation I have seen young men disintegrate—I have even seen them go mad! These moral scars go deep as a bayonet wound, and they are far more difficult to heal.

It is wrong to measure the results of a war only in the casualty columns. With such a measuring rod one could dismiss as trivial the torment endured by the conscientious objectors. They were not wounded in action, but they, like great numbers of the conscripts in uniform, lived in a psychic hell. And I want to see the nation pay for that hell again and again, painfully, through the nose—if only to make it financially impossible to subsidize another hades of the same brand.

Let the legion raid the treasury. Teach the public that the cost of hero-worship runs into billions, and it will not be anywhere near as likely soon to declare or endorse another war which would elevate another three million men into an heroic, but expensive, category of saints.

Engineers or Mustard Seed?

By A. C. Marts

DR. SIMON PETER JONAS, executive secretary of the General board of the American Christian church, picked up his cradle telephone. "Dr. Jonas speaking," he said.

"That you, Peter? This is John, John Boanerges. I want to come to visit you. Are you busy?" said the voice at the other end of the wire.

"Oh, hello, Mr. Boanerges—er—John. Yes, I'm frightfully busy today. It's Friday morning you know and I'm trying to clear my desk to get away early this afternoon for a weekend on Long Island with John H. Dulane, head of the copper trust. I'm hoping to line him up for our church expansion program. I'll be back next week—say Tuesday, 11:30. Would that suit?"

"All right, Peter, I just want to chat you awhile. I'll be in on Tuesday. Goodbye, and a nice weekend to you."

Dr. Jonas plunged into his work again. The phone rang often. His secretary moved swiftly in and out, yet Dr. Jonas took all this activity in the easy stride of an experienced and capable executive. The Master had foreseen this ability when he had chosen Peter to be the cornerstone of his church.

His brother, Dr. Andrew Jonas, came in at 12:25 for a ten minute appointment. Dr. Andrew was at the head of the spiritual life cultivation department. "Will you go over these programs with me, Peter? These are the subjects which we are suggesting for sermons for the Sundays of 1934 and 1935. Our committees have gone over them all carefully and now, if you approve, I'm ready to send them to the printer."

"I can't go over them now, Andrew, but if you will just ask my secretary to put them in my portfolio, I'll try to find time to look them over at Southampton over the weekend and let you have my opinion next week. I hope you have struck a warmer note of evangelism in this new program. There has been some criticism lately, Andrew. Our church experienced a net loss in members last year. We must put more fire and zeal into the message." Dr. Peter was reaching for his hat and was on his way to a conference to discuss the value of the gothic in inducing a spirit of reverence. He was a handsome figure as he strode up the avenue.

On the following Tuesday, the Rev. John Boanerges sat in Dr. Jonas' outer office waiting for the hour of 11:30. He saw a face he recognized. "Hello, oh hello, there, Thomas," he cried. An anxious, hurrying man stopped and looked over his shoulder. It was Dr. Thomas Didymus, secretary of the depart-

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ment of research and survey. He saw Boanerges rising to greet him. "Oh, it's—it's—is it you, John Boanerges? Well, well, it's good to see you. Where are you now?"

"I'm still at my little chapel down by the river, Thomas, where I've been ever so long," John answered.

"Well, it's nice to see you again. Can I do anything for you? No? Well, I must rush to a meeting of my board, John. We are just completing a study of the satisfaction content of 10,000 ministers to ascertain what measure of fulfilment they are experiencing in their profession. A most interesting study. I want to share it with you sometime," and Dr. Didymus dashed on.

"Dr. Jonas will see you now," a polite young lady was saying to Mr. Boanerges. "This way, please."

Boanerges stepped timidly into the huge office, his old felt hat in his hand. Dr. Jonas turned from his dictaphone and greeted his visitor. "My old friend, John Boanerges. How are you, John? Sit down, won't you?" He touched a button. "Please ask Dr. Levy, Dr. Tolmai and Dr. Alphaeus to come in," he said to his secretary. He turned to John. "I thought you would want to meet those of your other old friends, who are not tied up, while you are here."

"Awfully nice of you, Peter. I miss my old friends. That's why I ran in—just lonesome to see all of you again."

They sat silently for a few moments, not knowing just where to pick up the threads of old intimacies.

John broke the silence. "Did you ever really believe that the message Jesus gave us could bring about the astounding changes it has? I confess I never did. Do you remember the day we came down the mountain and the Master told us that a bit of faith the size of a mustard seed could move the mountain? I thought at the time it was just picturesque language, but Peter, it was more than that. Every day I see just a tiny bit of his spirit changing men's whole hearts and lives! It's more powerful than dynamite, Peter. There is some mysterious power in his spirit. We only need to open men's hearts to it and he does the rest."

"Yes, indeed, John," Peter assented. "His religion has made remarkable progress. Just look at this map." He strode to a huge chart on the wall. "Look! Here are 229,036 Christian churches here in America alone, with a membership of ——." He lifted his phone and asked a question. "A membership this morning of 50,405,104. Stupendous, John, simply stupendous. Why, we have 211 different denominations, with 1,000 boards, thoroughly organized and manned for the supervision of these churches. We have 129,000 ordained ministers; 2,168,000 Sunday school teachers; we have church edifices worth $3,679,000,000, and a total property worth over $6,500,000,000. John, the Christian church has become one of the greatest industries in America. We have an income of $800,000,000 a year! What a marvelous, miraculous growth from the little outdoor meetings by the sea! Just in the past fifteen years our property here in America has doubled in value. I am eternally grateful to God that he has blessed our plans so richly." Peter's face was earnest, tense, determined.

Dr. Jonas turned to the three other gentlemen who had entered. "You all remember John Boanerges, of course, John, the Beloved. Dr. Matthew Levy is head of our income production department. Dr. Bartholomew Tolmai is head of our board of morals and manners, and Dr. James Alphaeus has the distinction of being the highest salaried minister in the nation. He has a staff of forty paid workers in his parish and has organized his work so perfectly that his only direct responsibility is to deliver the Sunday morning sermon."

"You see, John," Peter said, "we don't depend on mustard seeds entirely to do the mountain moving. We've been doing some engineering too, and I think you will agree this great organization of our American church proves the effectiveness of our plans. Jesus never expected us to move the world's mountains with mustard seed faith alone."

"No-o-o," John replied slowly, "He wanted us to work hard at taking his gospel to everyone, but he didn't want us to take over the job of planning his kingdom. We aren't wise enough to do that, Peter, though our intentions may be of the best. He has far better plans than we can devise. It's a great temptation, Peter, to try to do that engineering, but I've noticed that a man-planned kingdom of God doesn't often come out as it is planned."

There was an awkward silence, but John went on. "I'm afraid of a great man-planned church, friends. It nearly always goes wrong, no matter how honest and earnest its planners may be. Under how many skies have we seen it happen thus in the past 1900 years?" John continued in reminiscent mood. "Constantine undertook to organize our religion at Nicea, but succeeded in creating a priestcraft which became at times the most unchristian force on earth. Peter the Hermit started out humbly enough to do honor to Jesus, but when his crusaders finally arrived at the Holy City they were splashing through blood. The evangelizing zeal of the Black Friars emerged gradually into an inquisition which slew those whom it could not convert. The benevolent patronage of the Russian tsars evolved their Christian church into a luxurious institution of human oppression."

John arose. "Oh, my friends, where are our memories? The kingdom of God in the hearts of men has been thwarted more often by the church itself in its excess effort for members, for prestige, for organization, for power, than by any evil forces outside the church. And most of the great spiritual advances have been achieved through revolt against the organized church of the period. Generally we have seen the spirit of Jesus in the revolt rather than in the church."

He turned to Dr. Jonas. "Peter, aren't you afraid Jesus will slip out of the Christian church again if your buildings become too beautiful and your plans

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too well organized? He always has, you know. While we're so busy with our engineering plans for moving a mountain, He can't use us to carry out his greater plans with the mustard seed, so he just slips away."

"By the way, Peter," he said, quietly, changing the subject, "do you still wet a fishline now and then?"

"Do I!" Peter's eyes gleamed as he pointed to a mounted salmon which hung over the bookshelves. "I go to Canada every spring with a rich friend who has a camp there. That's the largest fish ever caught in that stream and you may believe that my rich friends have had a greater respect for the church ever since I landed that beauty."

The phone rang. Dr. Jonas looked up quickly at John. "This is a transatlantic call from Paul. Of Tarsus, you remember. He has charge of our foreign missionary departments. He's on a quick trip to Africa to open up a great new field with a $14,000,000 fund which he raised last year. He hopes to complete the evangelization of the heathen world by 1940. He has over 8,000 missionaries under his direction."

He turned to the phone. "Yes, this is Dr. Jonas. Very well, Paul, we will have a $500,000 deposit subject to your draft. You may draw on it any time after tomorrow. Haking the plane to Capetown? Good! Success to you. Goodbye."

The men shifted uneasily and looked at their watches. Jonas rose. "It's been fine to see you again, Boanerges. Anything special we can do for you? I wish you would affiliate with our organization. It would open up a greater field of service for you and provide a comfortable pension for you and Mary in your old age."

"Thanks, Peter, no. I did affiliate for a year or so sometime ago, but while I enjoyed the fellowship I just couldn't keep the pace. I don't want you to think I'm a Holy Roller or anything queer; I'm not. We're changing men's hearts down there and I must give all my time to that. How I love to tell the story." John picked up his hat. "Goodbye, goodbye, come down to the little chapel by the river and see me, won't you, when you can." He walked out.

"Queer old codger," Bartholomew said. "Changing men's hearts, indeed! While he's changing one heart, we're fixing the moral patterns for a whole continent."

"He could have multiplied his influence manifold if he had only allowed us to build up a department around his idea," Dr. Jonas said. "But as it is, I couldn't even persuade a little college out west to give him a D.D. degree last June. He just has no standing at all in the church at large, and yet at one time I expected great things of him."

He reached for his hat and stick. "Come along, Dr. Alphaeus, we're due at the Anti-war league luncheon right now. Apparently the senate is going to turn down the disarmament treaty tomorrow in spite of the work of our league for the past four years. We lack one vote. Well, we'll mark every senator who votes against it for slaughter at his next election just as we punished some other senators a few years ago for voting wrong on a moral issue."

Mr. Boanerges turned eastward and walked slowly toward the river. "They are noble fellows and are devoted to the kingdom," he said to himself. "Yet, Peter thanked God for blessing his plans! Why I thought *we* were supposed to help God carry out *his* plans! I must be an old fogey. Fifty million Christians in the United States!" He chuckled to himself. "Another case of 'the whole army out of step with Johnny' perhaps. Fifty million people can't be wrong. Just the same I'm going to let the Master continue to do the engineering for me. I choose his mustard seed method!"

II.

At his home he found that his brief absence had dammed up the stream of the distressed, the helpless, and the shiftless, which flowed constantly to his door, and a dozen persons were waiting to see him. To each he gave the counsel of comfort, of inspiration or of command which was required.

At the belated luncheon table John announced, "I must go to Washington this afternoon, Mary. It's about my friend Senator Brokaw's vote on the disarmament treaty tomorrow."

"Why, John, you sound like a lobbyist," Mrs. Boanerges replied. "I thought you disapproved of that sort of thing."

John smiled. "I did sound like a lobbyist, didn't I? But I didn't mean it that way at all. It's about Brokaw himself. He's asked me to spend the night with him. He's troubled. Caught between the cross currents of a genuine conviction and of an honest party obligation. The papers say he will vote against the treaty, but he's having an inner struggle to decide his duty. He wants me to be with him when he wrestles it out tonight. Do you mind if I leave you alone for a day?"

"Of course not, John, when there is so much at stake. One vote may change the whole——," Mary replied.

"Yes, so much is at stake," John repeated, "the integrity of the soul of a good man. That's my job—with the hearts of men. Someone else can record the votes."

He started for his traveling bag, reciting to himself, "The kingdom of heaven—is like unto a grain of mustard seed—though it be less than all the seeds that are upon the earth—when it is sown—becometh greater than all the herbs—putteth out great branches—birds can lodge in it——."

Ascent

DELVE not so deep in the gloomy past
That life's bright sands cave in and bury thee.
Better it is to make a ladder fast
Against a star, and climb eternally.

CHARLES G. BLANDEN.

Hunger on the March

By Paul Hutchinson

RANDOLPH STREET pierces the Northwestern railway terminal in Chicago by means of a tunneled passage almost a block long. There, to get out of the pouring rain, I took my stand. The motorcycle police, barely keeping their machines in motion, had just reached the western entrance. Behind them, filling the street from curb to curb, an indiscriminate mass of plodding people holding aloft a thousand jerking placards and banners, came the hunger marchers.

Out of the downpour they moved into the dry passageway in which I stood, and with them came the low, long roar that accompanies great masses on the march. Here and there squads made an attempt at a sort of regular chant: "We want bread!" "We want food!" Or, more often: "Keep on fighting! Keep on fighting!" Some communist locals took advantage of the enclosed space to sing the Internationale. But most of the roar was without form or words—the noise of thousands who paraded through the rain, not because they had much idea of what might be accomplished by so doing, but because they were hungry and must do something.

A Man's Parade

There were no bands. There was no quickstep. But rank after rank of sodden men; their worn coat-collars turned up, their caps—most of them seemed to be wearing caps—pulled down to give as much protection as possible. Here and there women and a few children, but not a great many. If it had been a clear day the number of these would have been multiplied many times. But marching under such conditions was no business for women and children. A man's parade. Eight abreast. Closely massed. Stretching as far down the street as the eye could see through the rain. The biggest parade, the newspapers were to say, that Chicago had seen in years.

A heavily built man of sixty or so, trembling with excitement, came rushing up and grabbed my arm. "What do you think of that?" he shouted. "Give that bunch just a little dynamite and they could blow this city to hell! There's enough of them to do it!" Before I could answer, he was running on down the sidewalk. The police sergeant standing a few feet away looked at me and smiled; the marchers next the curb, who also had heard, grinned as they plodded ahead. Some of them were carrying placards inscribed "Don't starve; fight!" But it wasn't a dynamiters' parade.

Intelligent Policing

Police arrangements were perfect. There had been some stipulations about police censorship over the inscriptions on banners, but a wise police chief had evidently given orders to subordinate everything else to getting the marchers along their route with as little delay and as little cause for wrangling as possible. Hundreds of uniformed and plain clothes police were on duty, for there is always the chance that some unbalanced individual may turn such a demonstration into a tragedy. But the police were there to protect and not to pummel the marchers. They brought the converging columns from the various sections of the city into Chicago's loop in a perfectly timed order; they escorted the procession past the city hall and across the loop to the lake-front park at the height of the noon rush hour without a delay or a disturbance; they provided a place for the mass-meeting of paraders (in ankle-deep mud, to be sure, but that could hardly be charged up to the police) where the bitterness in their minds could have full and free expression. It was intelligent policing, as well carried out as it had been conceived.

The delegation that waited on the mayor, as the parade was passing the city hall, expected nothing and got nothing. It did get a chance, to be sure, to present a list of demands which, printed in the evening papers, must have made comfortable citizens mutter: Cash relief on the basis of $7.50 a week for a family of two, with additional amounts for each dependent; no more evictions; free gas, water, electricity and coal; free hot lunches, clothing, textbooks and carfare for school children; free dental and medical care; no foreclosures; exemption from taxes; immediate release of all in jail as a result of unemployment clashes with the police; immediate inauguration of a local program of public works; no discrimination in relief work against Negroes or foreign-born; all unemployment funds to be administered by elected representatives of organizations of the unemployed. The mayor said that he had nothing to do with these matters; let them be put before the relief organizations or the R. F. C. The committee filed out. It had put its demands, by means of the listening reporters, where it wanted them to go—before that part of the public that even in today's misery has no idea how the other half is living, or what it is thinking.

Puzzled Onlookers

Still that sodden line of marchers. By this time I was on Michigan boulevard, that proud and beautiful street which Chicago boasts will match in splendor any other in the world. As the bedraggled paraders, with their defiant banners, came swinging out of the narrow defile of the loop street into this broad esplanade I found myself paying more attention to the onlookers than to the marchers. It was past noon now; the office population of the city lined the curb many rows deep. There was none of that thoughtless laughter that might have been expected at sight of such a tatterdemalion crew. These stenographers, these clerks, these well-dressed men accus-

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tomed to push buttons and reach for the long distance phone, were obviously puzzled by many of the banners. What was the meaning of this talk about "Restore the 50 per cent rations cut"? Who was the Joe Sposob whose last words were said to have been, "They gave me lead instead of bread"? The crowd on the sidewalks did not know what most of this was about. But it did not laugh or mock. Twenty thousand people, plodding through the rain, shouting "We want bread," is nothing to laugh at in these days.

I suppose that this particular parade really achieved its objective in that puzzled crowd along the sidewalks. If there were twenty thousand marchers there must have been ten times that many onlookers. And the tragic truth is that, except in the vaguest sort of way, these onlookers had no idea of the state of misery in which the unemployed are living. In Chicago, for example, where there are now about 700,000 people dependent on relief, the basis of relief has been such that a typical family of, say, a man, wife and two children, would receive food orders worth $5.02 a week and a "county box" valued at $1.25, while during a large part of October shortage of funds, as the parade banners testified, forced a reduction of even this allowance by one-half. Think of trying to support a family of four on $3.15 worth of food a week! Yet as these words are written there is no one connected with either the city's government or its relief agencies who knows how even this provision is to be continued through the winter.

A United Front

There was one aspect of this parade whose significance I suppose escaped practically all the watchers. But in these ranks there plodded representatives of communist organizations, of socialist clubs, of church and social settlements, of local community bodies, and of groups that the unemployed themselves have formed. It was a "united front" demonstration. To those who know the depth and width of the chasm that has divided the communists from the rest of the community, the fact that a "united front" has been reached in Chicago, under the pressure of slackening relief, carries immense meaning. Will the present union in demands for such relief objectives as I have listed lead to union on the political front? It is not beyond the realm of possibility; certainly the communists know how to capitalize such outbursts to their fullest possible political value.

This parade, it should be noted, came before the opening of winter. The hard months are yet to come. Already, however, there has been this cutting in half of the food rations; already there has been practical acknowledgment that the only hope for continued relief rests in continued grants from the federal R. F. C. No such parade had ever been permitted in Chicago before. When permission was asked for this one, it was at first refused. But the pressure was too heavy; the city administration wisely decided that there was less danger of trouble in permitting than in forbidding the demonstration. So we have had these twenty thousand marchers tramping through the October rain; marching at the very time when the cables tell of other marchers in London. There will be more marchers in more cities before spring. Will they be content with marching?

After I had made my way from the crowd wallowing about in the mud at the end of their march to a stool in a nearby coffee shop, I found one of Chicago's long-time radicals at my elbow. "Twenty-five years ago," he mused, "I tried to lead a march of the unemployed down Michigan avenue. We managed to get almost three blocks before we were arrested. It's different this year." A long pause. "Even the clergy are calling for socialism—some kind of socialism. It makes me feel like saying, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'" (He twisted an amused glance at me from under his bushy eyebrows; evidently he was wondering whether I would be impressed by his ability to quote scripture.) A longer pause. Then, suddenly, vibrantly, with his hand gripping my arm: "But there was one thing you didn't hear out there today, although it was there. You read and you heard the slogans—'We want work!' 'We want bread!' Did you hear that other slogan that they were not shouting; only thinking: 'We want revenge'? Those people have lost their homes. They have lost their savings. They have lost their jobs. And they are beginning to march, through the rain, by the thousands, because they want revenge."

BOOKS

In Dispraise of Cranmer

THE THREE PELICANS: ARCHBISHOP CRANMER AND THE TUDOR JUGGERNAUT. *By Arthur Styron. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas,* $4.00.

THOSE who, whether partisans of medievalism or despisers of religion, enjoy the literary sport of reformer-baiting, will applaud this portrait of Cranmer as a mediocre, pusillanimous, loveless, self-seeking ecclesiastic. The publishers call the book "an imaginative biography of that enigmatic and powerful figure of Tudor England, Thomas Cranmer." But the figure presented is neither enigmatic nor powerful. He is readily explained as one who is "timid and fastidious" and possesses "a single-track mind" together with "a powerful capacity for insinuation." He is, moreover, "sentimental, vain and puritanic," and "able to say one thing and mean another." In fact, he is the villain of the Tudor play, except that the sturdier villainy of Thomas Cromwell is woven into some of the scenes. Yet Cranmer's is a thwarted villainy that gains him no real mastery. He has to be content with a small modicum of the authority he loves to assert against the defenseless. By assertion or implication this characterization is carried through the book to the final imprisonment of the archbishop. We are instructed in contempt for him in sentences like these: "It was his intellectual pretension to gather all the facts of a question and weigh them impartially." "The archbishop compressed his lips till they were a white

line in his red face." Ridley and Latimer, the other two "pelicans," play minor roles in which they appear to scarcely better advantage.

Mr. Styron should be credited with something more than making of the blood of the martyrs the ink for a marketable book in their dishonor. He has looked closely at many of the more superficial elements of the life of the court and the countryside, and he displays a lively if depressing picture of the politics of the age. Sometimes the prospect pleases, but with few exceptions man is vile. Occasionally the author's knowledge limps. Thus we are shown young Englishmen in 1516 excited over the theories of Copernicus whose work was in fact entirely unpublished till 1540. The Scottish theologian Alane (or Alesius, here called Ales) is introduced as a raving visionary. "The Scotsman raveled his wild coarse hair." Mr. Styron did well to utilize for his "imaginative biography" this vivid incident of Alane's dream of Anne Boleyn's death, but he should have known his man better or treated him more considerately. The original source of the story is Alane's own account of it written in 1559 to Queen Elizabeth, in which he states that he was "horified." But Melanchthon, who knew well the much-traveled Scot, in describing him emphasizes his "singular dignity." He may or may not have had coarse hair, but it is probable that he did not "ravel" it. This is a small point, but it illustrates our author's tendency to strip Cranmer and his friends of all vestiges of dignity.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Styron is a mere cynic with no powers of admiration. There is deserved applause for More, and Gardiner is praised as "a man who hated persecution"; while Pole is extolled as "the preeminent example of the tolerant man of his time." Without malice toward the unhappy cardinal, who in happier times might have lived innocently, we must in fairness read this eulogy of him in the light of the fires of Smithfield.

As for Cranmer, of course, nothing in his life became him like the leaving it. Mr. Styron eloquently gives the defeated man his parting triumph. "A noble end," we read, "surely makes a life not ignoble." This is only measurably true of a life—still less of a book about one. Is it not possible that something has been left out of the body of the story that might have led us to feel less surprise at the nobility of the end? The writer of an imaginative biography needs more than a talent for pictorial scenes and invented dialogue; he needs humor and insight and fairness of mind.

JOHN T. MCNEILL.

A Skeleton of Latin American History

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF HISPANIC AMERICA. *By J. Fred Rippy. F. S. Crofts & Company,* $5.00.

WHATEVER Professor Rippy writes about the history or the problems of Latin America deserves respectful consideration. He is one of the outstanding authorities on the subject. In this impressive volume he undertakes to give a comprehensive account of the political history, economic development and condition, diplomacy and culture of the entire region between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn. It is a big book, but not big enough to cover satisfactorily so extensive a field. Excellent and accurate as it is on almost every point that it touches, it is too encumbered with undeveloped details to be readable; and when any particular area is scrutinized with care, it is not sufficiently complete to meet the needs of the student except as the starting-point for further investigation. For example, American intervention in Nicaragua is treated only in a skeletonized statement, and Sandino does not even rate a mention. The events and results of the Mexican revolutions since 1917 are treated very sketchily; the single paragraph on this whole subject seems both disproportionately brief and quite uncritical. The Mexican church question from Diaz to Dominguez gets only two lines.

Yet there is an immense amount of material here, well organized and presented without bias or prejudice even if somewhat colorlessly. It is the condensation of a lifetime of scholarly work. Such a skeleton cannot be very interesting without more meat on its bones. But considered as an outline and a bibliographical guide for further study, it is superb.

W. E. G.

Books in Brief

DISTANT WORLDS, THE STORY OF A VOYAGE TO THE PLANETS. *By Friedrich Mader. Translated from the German by Max Shachtman. Charles Scribner's Sons,* $2.00.

It is significant that the captain of the marvelous airship which cruises in interstellar space bears the name Munchausen. Astronomers will probably not be greatly interested, but lovers of a fantastic pseudo-scientific tale will find it to their taste. The author is the German Jules Verne.

ROMANTIC REBEL, THE STORY OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. *By Hildegarde Hawthorne. The Century Company,* $2.50.

A biography by a granddaughter of the subject does not promise critical and unbiased judgment. In this case the granddaughter wisely avoids the role of critic. There is no effort to produce a detached critical estimate of the genius of Hawthorne and his place in American letters. Yet filial piety and family pride are not permitted to pervert the record or exaggerate the facts. There is the intimate touch, such as a granddaughter should give, yet Hawthorne remains, as he should, the glamorous figure, slightly cloud-capped and half mysterious. It is a charmingly written chronicle of his life, an appreciation of his personality, and a romantic tale of reality.

A COMMUNICATION

The Stakes in the Election

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The editorial in The Christian Century entitled "The Stakes in the Election" is a rather remarkable document, coming as it does from a journal which has done so much to clarify the social and political thought of American Protestantism. For it seems to be filled with political confusion and to be oriented by only the slightest understanding of the economic scene in America. Perhaps it will be best to implement this general criticism by a detailed analysis of its general position.

1. The admission that the "socialist party represents ideals and a program far more closely in accord with the ideals of Christianity than does either of the major parties" is vitiated and qualified by holding out the possibility that another kind of third party, the so-called "disinterested party," "designed to use the two party system as an instrument of its ideal" will really find the way out of our present difficulties. From the standpoint of political realism this disinterested party is pure moonshine. It represents the inevitable confusion of middle-class intellectualism which imagines that political changes are achieved by the united efforts of good people who bring pressure to bear upon traditional political parties. Such a hope completely ignores the economic basis of politics and the political inefficacy of non-partisan action.

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No matter how intelligent or well-meaning individual citizens may be, political parties are always roughly representative of the economic interests of definite classes. Both the democratic and the republican parties represent the financial and the commercial classes. In as far as they have the allegiance of the farmers and the workers this phenomenon is due to the political ignorance of these classes. These poor people have not yet learned, what they must learn in time, that both major parties are dominated by the economic interests of capital and that they will inevitably have tariff, taxation and other political policies which are detrimental to the interests of the workers and the farmers. The fact that both the farmers and the workers have been excluded from the charmed circle of American prosperity and that these parties have done nothing to equalize the inequalities of our economic system is proof of the economic basis of politics.

It is always possible for a small group of intelligent and morally sensitive people in the dominant classes, particularly those who belong to the semi-neutral professional groups, to detach themselves morally and psychologically from the economic interests of the owning classes and to criticize the brutalities of the economic struggle. But their number is not large enough to affect the political situation if they do not unite their strength with that of the large class which is driven by economic interest to seek a fundamental change in society. If the present disproportions of economic and political power are to be eliminated and the resulting social injustice abolished it must be done by developing the potential political strength of the poor (the strength of their numbers) so that it can be pitted politically against the combination of political and economic power which the owning classes possess.

Politics is, in other words, a social struggle which can be ethically influenced only if the basic and inevitable character of the struggle is accepted as a fact. All history proves the futility of expecting that men of power will divest themselves voluntarily of their power and their privilege. They may be just as decent as the rest of us, as individual human beings, but the best they can do as individuals is to be philanthropic and traditionally honest within the limits of an unjust economic system. The system itself can be changed only by a social struggle in which power is pitted against power. If a society is intelligent enough this social struggle may be kept within the bounds of political resistance and coercion. If society is not intelligent enough to recognize the basic facts in time the struggle will result in violence and social convulsion. Unfortunately middle class idealists who think that this struggle is analogous to such reform efforts as the prohibition movement help to becloud the facts and to make social convulsion more inevitable.

Even if all this were not true the whole strategy of non-partisan action has been convicted of futility by the facts of history. The American federation of labor, with more power than a disinterested party will ever possess, has been unable to win even the most minimum rights for the workers in our industrial society by the strategy of non-partisanship. Non-partisanship gives you nothing but a veto power against the worst of two possible and usually equally bad choices.

2. The contention that Mr. Hoover represents "sound capitalism" as against Mr. Roosevelt's "uncertain capitalism" would be true only if you define soundness in terms of consistent and intransigent conservatism. Is it "sound," even from the perspective of capitalism, to deny the legitimacy of unemployment insurance or to persist in a tariff policy which is ruining not only us but the whole interdependent western world? Is it sound to offer the farmers nothing but loans when they need a scaling down of their debts and the unbearable interest charges on their mortgages? Is it sound to ask a people with a national income cut in half since 1929 to pay interest charges on capital, reduced by only the slightest degree from the 1929 figure? There is nothing sound about such policies. If anything they will drive toward disaster more quickly than the slightly modified form of capitalism which Roosevelt advocates. It must be admitted, of course, that Roosevelt's policies modify the Hooverian ones so slightly that the net difference in results will probably be very inconsequential.

3. The argument that Mr. Hoover has the confidence of the business community and that "it is upon the business community that we are dependent upon any proximate recovery" is a counsel of despair. If accepted it would mean the permanent enslavement of America to the business community, for big business will always threaten the community with immediate disaster if it should attempt any fundamental or even any tentative changes in the present economic structure of society.

4. The suggestion that Hoover will be a better president in his second term than in his first one because "the President's spiritual nature" will be able to assert itself unhampered by the "inhibitions of practical politics" is self-defeating. What are we to think of a president who compromised his "spiritual nature" in order to gain a second term? Is there any proof in American history that presidents suddenly acquired a new insight and political intelligence or freedom from party domination in their second terms?

5. The statement that the record "shows that the President is the most educable that the nation has ever had" is probably more baffling than anything in the entire editorial. After three years of depression he still believes, or affects to believe, that the old American way of "neighborliness" and of "warm sympathy" and of "voluntary charity" is a better method of meeting the needs of the unemployed than to "resort to the cold hand of the tax collector." Since everyone knows that the poor have poor neighbors who cannot help them and the rich have rich neighbors who do not need their help this effort to meet a major social crisis in an impersonal industrial civilization with the moral idealism, derived from village neighborliness in an agrarian past, is a revelation of tragic folly and moral obtuseness.

6. Your statement that the company which Mr. Roosevelt keeps is ominous for the probable peace policy of his administration is the most convincing part of your editorial though it does not do justice to the fact that the old Wilsonian liberals will probably have as much influence in the administration as Mr. Hearst and that on the whole the Costigans, Wheelers, Norris, *et al* could be trusted a little more than the Mellons, Atterburys, Fords, Dave Reeds and all the economic and international reactionaries who stand under the republican banner.

However, it is not our interest to hold out hope that Roosevelt will offer the nation a saving option from republican reaction. The only real advance over the republican position in his personal platform is on the water power question, and that is not a very great one, though it should have been mentioned in an impartial review of the situation.

7. Your faith that somehow or other the "President's character and intelligence" will "assert itself" once the "present acute distress has been fairly relieved" betrays the usual illusion of idealists that a good character is a guarantee of right political action. In view of the President's record it also betrays some wishful thinking. It is in the same category with a letter recently sent out by one of the most renowned

Christian leaders of America pleading for Hoover's reelection on the score, among others, that he has "a Quaker conscience" and a "life-long habit of heeding the inner voice." Perhaps the most effective answer to such arguments can be made in the words of scripture: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

New York City. REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

[EDITORIAL COMMENT]

THE above communication comes just as the forms are closing for this issue, and we regret that the paper is too far advanced toward the press to make possible the use of space on the editorial pages for our comments.

1. It has been puzzling to make out just why Dr. Niebuhr felt called upon to present at length the argument in his first section. Apart from his characterization of the disinterested party as "moonshine," the whole section reflects the presuppositions upon which The Christian Century does all its political thinking. There must be some misconception on Dr. Niebuhr's part if he imagines that this paper, of which he is a contributing editor, needs to be convertetd to the thesis which he himself has repeatedly set forth in these pages, namely, that of the economic basis of politics. There are, to be sure, certain qualifications to this thesis, but such qualifications are irrelevant to the present issue, and Dr. Niebuhr would agree with us concerning them as fully as we agree with him in respect to the substantive principle which he states.

Why then, has he brought his bucket of coals to our Newcastle with so solemn a gesture? The only conceivable explanation is that he misconceives our thesis concerning the disinterested party. He appears to understand us as taking the republican and democratic parties as the fixed and permanent proprietors of the two-party system, and to rule out the possibility of another effective party arising to supplant one or the other of them. This is not The Christian Century's position. Some of the guilt for Dr. Niebuhr's misunderstanding may attach to our treatment of the matter. In dealing with the abstract concept of the two-party system, we may have left it open at certain points for the reader to infer that the two parties now in existence constitute the permanent two-party system. That inference, evidently, Dr. Niebuhr has made, and he sees the socialist party shut out by our thesis from ever becoming an effective instrument of political power. The entire first section of his communication can have no other basis. Let us assure him, therefore, that, instead of the disinterested party operating to shut the socialist party out, it would, in our judgment, be the most promising instrument for making the socialist party (or its equivalent) effective. The presence and active functioning of a patriotic party of disinterestedness would have as one of its major effects the "fluidizing" of the party system, especially in times of transition and revolution like our own.

What the structure of democracy needs more than any other thing is that its great body of disinterested citizenship (there is such a thing as disinterested citizenship, despite the economic basis of politics) shall organize itself to advance the common good. This is not the place to further expound this idea, but it is plain that we have seriously failed to get Dr. Niebuhr to understand it or he would not confuse our exposition of it with considerations such as he brings forward above. The development of a disinterested party is as wholly irrelevant to the development of the socialist party, or the prohibition party, or any other party, as it is to the existence of the republican or democratic party. If a disinterested party were already a fact, the field would be just as open for the growth of the socialist party as it is today, albeit the need might not be so acute.

We are not so much concerned with the further points made by Dr. Niebuhr, because no matter of principle is involved. Our decision to support Mr. Hoover as over against Mr. Thomas is based, as we stated in the editorial which Dr. Neibuhr is criticizing, upon the existence of human distress which must be relieved as quickly as possible. A vote for Mr. Thomas will not have any relation—or at least any effective relation—to the immediate relief of this distress. We prefer Mr. Hoover to Mr. Roosevelt because we believe his election will hasten relief, though our preference is reinforced by other considerations as between the two major candidates. We may, however, look briefly at each of Dr. Niebuhr's other numbered paragraphs.

2. We admit that to apply the word "sound" to any aspect of a system which we hold to be in its totality unsound, is inept. A better antithesis would have been "tight" capitalism versus "loose" capitalism.

3. We deny that it is a counsel of despair to use the most available capitalistic instrument for the speedy recovery of the suffering millions, any more than it is a counsel of despair to demand billions of dollars for state aid, or to consent to feed a hungry man at your back door. Whether we like it or not, we do depend upon the "business community." If it can start the wheels of industry turning again and so put bread in the mouths now hungry we hold that it is our moral duty to give it every encouragement. The dread of "permanent enslavement" is a bogey.

4. Dr. Niebuhr's own philosophy of moral character is too sophisticated to approve his formulation of the question: "What are we to think of a President who compromised his spiritual nature in order to gain a second term?" Our expectations of Mr. Hoover's second term are based on a priori grounds, on some information, and on subjective confidence —chiefly the last!

5. There is no defense for the President's doctrine which Dr. Niebuhr criticizes. But in spite of it, we reiterate our statement as to Mr. Hoover's educability.

6. We made no statement as to Mr. Roosevelt's "company." He has much good company. And Mr. Hoover has much bad company. Our statement was as to the *obligations* which Mr. Roosevelt will be under if he is elected. These obligations do not derive merely from the fact that bad men *support* him. A candidate cannot help that. They derive, in Mr. Roosevelt's case, from the deal which all the world knows was made between Mr. Roosevelt's managers on one side and Mr. Hearst, who was Roosevelt's bitterest opponent, Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Garner on the other side, by which Mr. Roosevelt won the nomination.

7. We agree that under our system of spoils politics the field for the exercise of personal moral character is much restricted. We do not, however, treat with scorn the possibility of its exercise. And the one situation in which a political incumbent is most free from the restraints and pressures of partisan and special interests is the second term of the presidency. He expects no further term, and he can seek no higher office. He is, therefore, more free to be himself and to follow his own highest leadings than in his first term. We claim no more for this consideration than is obviously true. As to Mr. Hoover's personal character Dr. Niebuhr and we probably differ. We esteem the President personally as possessing one of the most admirable characters in the entire range of our Presidents. We disagree with many of his policies and with his philosophy of government, but we have great faith in the man.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Negroes Thank Bishop Manning

Defiance of Vestry Praised by N. A. A. C. P.—A. Ray Petty Dead—Lutherans Give Generously to Charity

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Oct. 29.—Bishop Manning captured the headlines this week because of his action last Sunday in forcing his way into All Souls Protestant Episcopal church on St. Nicholas avenue. For some time there has been rumor of trouble there, for some of the members of the vestry have not liked the rector's decision to admit Negroes to the services on an equal basis with the white parishioners. Seven of the eleven vestrymen have broken with the rector, Rev. Rollin Dodd, on this issue. Last Sunday these vestrymen took the key of the church and locked the door, ostensibly "for repairs." Also they withheld the rector's salary. Bishop Manning visited the church last Sunday and, with the aid of a locksmith, broke the lock and held a service. In his sermon he defended the rector and stated vigorously that the church would be open to all regardless of race or color. The police were present but they refused to interfere with the bishop.

Dr. Manning's action in this case has been applauded by many not generally friendly to him and he has undoubtedly helped the cause of equal church treatment for our colored brethren. Some of the vestry, however, maintain that his action is not entirely what it seems to be, but that the bishop is really trying to make this church Anglo-catholic. They maintain that the rector boasted to members of the vestry that if they did not go along with him in his Anglo-catholicism he would make the church as black as coal. The National association for the advancement of colored people sent a letter to Bishop Manning thanking him for his "militant and uncompromising stand."

* * *

Communists Analyze Smith

In a leading editorial this week the Daily Worker, official organ of the communist party, makes clear to its readers what it calls "The special role of Mr. Alfred E. Smith." In this editorial this communist paper maintains that Smith is an example of the ability of the propaganda machine of American capitalism to make a reactionary appear as a tribune of the people. Hear the effect of Al's recent speeches upon our communist friends: "Allied with the wealthy hierarchy of the Holy Roman Catholic church and a creature of American finance capital, Smith has made a science of the use of religion in politics. At the same time, with the help of the press he has made himself appear as a martyr persecuted by the agents of Satan disguised as politicians of opposing democratic party factions. His special role is to keep in the capitalist camp, in a wing of the democratic party, the immigrant workers mostly of peasant origin and especially Irish Catholic workers and their offspring."

* * *

Lutherans Emphasize Social Action

The great Lutheran denomination is increasingly emphasizing its welfare work. In this city the Lutherans maintain 34 different social agencies and, during the past summer, the "Lutheran welfare council" was organized to promote the work of these organizations and to develop a consistent policy. Rev. C. O. Pedersen is president and Dr. A. Herring secretary. Dr. G. L. Kieffer estimates that the Lutherans of the country have contributed over $13,500,000 toward the support of their denominational charities this past year.

* * *

Clergymen Endorse Norman Thomas

The Conference of younger churchmen, frequently referred to in these columns, has formulated a resolution endorsing Norman Thomas and the general program for which he stands. This statement is of more than passing interest in that the clergymen signing it make clear that their decision to vote for Thomas is more than a protest. To quote: "Believing that the principles and platform of the socialist party are most nearly consistent with the Christian social ideal and believing in the social intelligence and vision of Norman Thomas, we therefore declare our support of the socialist party in the coming elections. Fundamental changes in our political and economic structure being necessary, we urge the support of the socialist party as a practical step toward the building of a Christian society." About 70 signatures have been secured in this general vicinity.

* * *

Death of Dr. A. Ray Petty

Ray Petty is dead. This news is hard to realize, for he was one of the most dynamic and forceful preachers this city has had. From 1915 to 1926 he was pastor of the Judson Memorial Baptist church over on Washington square. From there he went to Philadelphia to become the successor of the famous Russell H. Conwell, and recently he had taken a pastorate in Kansas City. Dr. Petty was a vigorous personality who stated his convictions without fear or favor. He believed in the social gospel and he preached it with passion and power.

* * *

Protestant Defense Mass Meeting

The American Protestant Defense league is arranging a mass meeting for this coming Friday night at Mecca temple. This militant Protestant organization recently held a meeting in the Level club hotel auditorium with 3000 present.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Methodists Take Advanced Stand

Regional Conference Opposes War; For Birth Control, Prohibition and Movie-Radio Reform

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 28.—From Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, West Virginia and Virginia, the clans of Methodism assembled here this week, Oct. 25 and 26. Positive and unreserved positions were taken on large social problems. The new bishop of the Pittsburgh area, Dr. Adna W. Leonard, presided effectively and led the hosts of preachers and laymen to ringing pronouncements. Three thousand people heard Secretary Henry L. Stimson discuss war and peace. He brought encouraging reports of the progress toward the abolition of war as a method of settling international disputes. He expressed himself as "unshakably confident" that the elimination of war "is on its way among nations and will eventually arrive." In masterly strokes he narrated the history of peace movements during the past three years, noting the Kellogg-Briand treaty.

Mr. Stimson said: "We have made it clear that in our opinion the declaration in the treaty carries with it the duty of performance. We have made it clear that it necessarily alters the whole attitude of the world towards war; that whereas, during the centuries hitherto, war has been one of the functions of government, giving rise to legal rights and obligations, hereafter, among signers of this treaty, war will be an illegal thing—a disease, instead of a normal function." In conclusion he expressed the belief that nations, like individual men, will cease fighting. He said: "We know that all such developments in human organization are extremely slow. We realize that it took centuries to eliminate ordeal by battle in the settlement of the individual quarrels of men. But we are unshakably confident that the same process is on its way among the nations, and will eventually arrive."

* * *

Dr. Fisher Champions Dry Cause

Another big social problem was considered when Dr. Irving Fisher of Yale aroused enthusiasm by his stout defense of prohibition. The assembly voted bone-dry, and it was unanimous. These Methodists do not believe in liquor at all. But Dr. Fisher was convincing. It's a poor way to get money into the United States treasury, to tax beer. A rather roundabout way, also. Workmen would better buy bread direct than try to help the government by paying a tax on beer. Prohibition is very good for our savings accounts; all workmen are far ahead because earnings are not squandered on liquor. Al Smith may

be proud that he wrote the "repeal plank," and Mr. Mills may assure us that the republicans have a quick way to open the floodgates of booze, but our Methodist friends are bone-dry, and we don't mean maybe.

* * *

Social Commission on Birth Control

Another session which evoked much interest was the one in which a report was made, after careful study, on the growth of divorce and the attitude toward birth control. Quoting directly from the report: "We are alarmed over the increase of divorce and reports of increasing promiscuity of relationships between men and women. We believe in the principle of family limitation, but abhor the perversion of that principle to satisfy selfish desire and to make physically safe what is morally wrong. We reaffirm our conviction that sublimation and self-control, not easy indulgence, is the Christian way of life for men and women alike."

On the same day, Dr. Jacob S. Peyton, head of the Pittsburgh council of churches, called, with unusual power, upon his brothers to work less to build up Methodism and more to increase the church of Christ. In his incisive way, he demanded greater cooperation among religious denominations, less competition and rivalry. He inveighed against a "planless Protestantism." His words are good for all of us.

* * *

Mr. Will H. Hays Warned in Picture and Radio Report

"We recognize," the report said, "the great influence of pictures upon the popular mind, and cannot be content until that influence is purged of those elements which minister to prejudice and passion and shoddy ideals of life. We are told that Will H. Hays' office is preparing a campaign to avert the many complaints of Protestants against current releases. We serve notice on the producers that our complaints will not be averted until their cause is removed."

Concerning the radio: "A great opportunity, it has often been degraded to the level of a purveyor of untruth about products and parties and programs and people. We believe that nationalization would purge the radio of these and other antisocial features. Until that takes place, we urge stringent restrictions upon its commercialization."

* * *

Girding Loins for Welfare Drive

On Nov. 9, the annual welfare drive will be started. Last year, it dragged its weary and unsuccessful length over numberless weeks. This year, excellent organization is preceding the actual drive. It is estimated that in Allegheny county, 60,000 families will have to be carried this winter. This is a frightful load. Steel towns are hard hit. At present, our mills are operating only at 19 per cent of capacity, although it should be observed that they could make a good profit if they operated at 51 per cent of their present capacity. The truth is that their capacity is entirely too great. Steel towns may be slower in returning to normal levels, although some predict a sudden and rather spectacular revival of business. Anyway, we have to get nine millions of dollars. City, state and Uncle Sam have promised three-fourths of this total, providing we secure $2,500,000, or about one-half of what we actually raised last year. We shall probably succeed. But when will we get over paying Uncle Sam, through the channel of increased taxes? Uncle Sam is not Santa Claus; what he pays out must come back in; already our taxes are costing us 25 per cent of our incomes, or, in other words, we work one day in four to pay our beautiful assortment of modern taxes.

* * *

Dr. Albert E. Day Goes To Baltimore

Seven years ago, Dr. Albert E. Day came from Canton, Ohio, to become pastor of the exclusive Christ Methodist church in our fashionable east end. He had not been in town long before the city recognized an unusual preacher and civic leader. Dr. Day is an almost perfect combination of scholar and social crusader. In his study he is a philosopher; in the life of the city he is a passionate apostle of social righteousness. Author of books, he also fights in the open in behalf of starving coal miners and of striking taxi drivers. As a preacher, he has the true Methodist fire and sympathetic appeal, but the background of his utterance is always correct in scholarship. Those of us who have had the honor of knowing him at close range would call him a mystic. He not only believes that there is a God, but he believes that he can talk to God and that God makes his will known to him.

At Atlantic City, last spring, when two bishops were being elected, Dr. Day stood third in the number of ballots cast. He would make a grand bishop.

He has built up his church during these difficult years, and has made a large place for himself in the life of the city. The university students heard him gladly. A preacher of unusual charm and power, a pastor of tenderness and understanding, a flaming social crusader, a scholar and writer of distinction, a passionate defender of "the under dog," Pittsburgh can ill afford to lose Dr. Day, but the Mt. Vernon church of Baltimore is to be congratulated, and that city will soon perceive the value of the new preacher. Not in vain has the mayor sent him a telegram of welcome.

But Pittsburgh, having lost, within recent months, Doctors Petty, Magee, Galbreath, Versteeg, and now Day—is poor indeed. JOHN RAY EWERS.

Federal Council Finds Many Modern Hymns Lacking in Dignity

At a meeting of the committee on worship of the Federal council, held in New York city Oct. 24, the chairman, Bishop W. P. Thirkield, held that some of the modern hymns which are widely popular are "lacking in dignity and nobility." Prof. William Adams Brown emphasized the need of a deepening of the religious life of candidates for the ministry. Prof. G. Walter Fiske called attention to the danger of losing the ethical note and the concern for the social meaning of Christianity in a one-sided preoccupation with the esthetic. Dr. S. M. Cavert, general secretary of the council, presented a draft of proposed recommendations on worship to be presented to the quadrennial meeting of the council to be held Dec. 6-9 in Indianapolis.

Bishop Spurns Lansbury's Plea

Labor Leader's Call for Help for Unemployed Met by Statement Church Is Doing All That It Can

(British Table Talk)

LONDON, Oct. 18.—That large-hearted statesman, Mr. George Lansbury, is also a strong Anglican. He has appealed to his church to pray and to work for the unemployed. The bishop of Durham has poured a *douche* of common-sense upon the proposal. The church, he shows, is doing already what it can do, but its resources are limited. Many of its members are themselves unemployed. If the bishops and clergy sold all and gave to the men and women out of work, that would mean only the equivalent of a few weeks of the "dole." Besides, the solution of what is an economic problem must be sought in economics. All very sensible criticism, but there is a growing impatience with it, especially among the younger members of the churches. And everywhere it is coming home to men that if the Christian church identifies itself with the dogmas of common-sense, and ceases to reveal any of the divine folly which scorns the wisdom of men, its strength is departed.

Two thousand young people from 500 London parishes met last Wednesday in the Church house, Westminster, and spoke their minds freely. One speaker said that the church was not single-minded enough and was content to inherit the past, and to rest on tradition. The world was ready for a pilot. "Why has the world been deprived of what it needs?" That appears to have been the spirit of the meeting.

* * *

Wanted: Leaders Who Will Lead Towards Peace

Five fellows of Oxford colleges have issued a call for a vigorous British lead in the cause of peace. Their manifesto lacks nothing in clearness and courage. The writers are scholars of distinction who hitherto have not taken a prominent part in the political arena. They declare that there is no need to discover the true policy of peace. "It is there before us, proclaimed and sealed in solemn treaties." In the present situation both in Europe and the far east it is time to have done with patching and tinkering. Statesmen shirking the straightforward task "engage in feeble maneuvers to avoid some diplomatic discomfiture, while the real danger and the real opportunity alike escape their notice."

This manifesto is one of many. Four mayors of Yorkshire cities, York, Leeds, Sheffield and Bradford, have appealed to the government to prevent a new armaments race by a bold policy. In every church assembly there is the same spirit manifest. But we lack the leaders. Meanwhile the Franco-German problem, for that it really is, remains still unsettled. The Germans stand out against the calling of the four power conference at Geneva; their reasons are obvious enough; all the world would say that Germany, if

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it went to Geneva at all, had gone back to the disarmament conference and this it will not do, so long as its serious claim for equal treatment is not granted.

The real tragedy is that the powers are encouraging all the elements in Germany which stand for militarism as the one hope of the nation. It may be repeated, that if any leader arose in this country who would declare with authority that it is determined not to allow a race in armaments to re-begin, he would be surprised at the response which awaited him. We are followers wanting a leader.

* * *

Some Pastoral Notes

Thomas Jackson, the Primitive Methodist preacher, is dead. His territorial title was one to be envied—he was "Jackson of Whitechapel," and that means much to those who know that district east of Aldgate, where so many of the poorer Jews live. Jackson was a minister for 56 years in east London; there he began his ministry and there he ended it, a "Greatheart," as Dr. Scott Lidgett called him, who came to be beloved by all his neighbors. He had begun work when he was 8 years old as a nail-maker, but like so many other poor boys, he had the way to the ministry opened to him by the Primitive Methodist church.

The death of Samuel Chadwick, of Cliff college, is reported. He was of the Wesleyan Methodist church; for many years he trained evangelists and shared with them his own unwearied passion for the "old gospel."

It was announced yesterday that Dr. Campbell Morgan has consented to return to Westminster chapel, where he will be associated in the pastorate with the Rev. Hubert Simpson. Dr. Morgan can always command a very large audience in London where his ministries at New Court, Westminster, have left ineffaceable memories. His Friday night lectures in which he expounded the scriptures were attended by hearers from many churches; without question there will be a great welcome to him on his return.

Dr. Orchard has written in the Dublin Review upon "The Other Sheep." In a frank and generous way he discusses the spiritual condition of those who are not in the Roman communion. In the end he describes what should be the policy of the Roman church. "It will not help to tell these other sheep what goats they really are. Rather it must be the implications of what they already believe, the ultimate derivation from the Catholic church of all they hold dear, and what further fidelity is involved in their very desire to follow the Good Shepherd, and no other, that may be most profitably pointed out."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Death of Dr. George P. Atwater, Brooklyn Rector

Rev. George Parkin Atwater, rector of Grace Episcopal church, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y., died of a heart ailment in a Brooklyn hospital Oct. 21, at the age of 58. Dr. Atwater was made a priest in 1899 by Bishop Leonard. From 1897 to 1926 he was first in charge and later rector of the Church of Our Savior, Akron, O.; from Akron he went to Brooklyn. In 1928 he was unanimously elected suffragan bishop of Long Island, but declined the office.

Chicago's Voters in a Quandary

How to Do Least Harm with Ballot Seems Deciding Consideration—Son of Salisbury to Speak

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Oct. 31.—With the elections almost upon us the writer of this letter is, on the whole, glad that his function is to give news rather than advice. This is a time of difficult decisions. In voting for governor in this state, for example, one has a choice between a candidate of ability and integrity, but whose election will undoubtedly strengthen Cermak's already formidable machine, and a candidate about whom one is afraid to speak for fear of violating the libel laws. Of course one might "throw away his vote" upon Rev. Roy Burt, the socialist candidate, but few people want thus to aid the election of the malodorous Len Small.

One wishes that the newspapers would edit the news somewhat less than they do, for it must be editorial blue pencils that are responsible for the conspiracy of silence with regard to the farmer-labor party's ticket in Cook county. The party is not insignificant. It was able to get on the ballot by obtaining the signatures of 66,000 voters in the county and approximately 10,000 voters in each of the three congressional districts in which it is running candidates. And its candidates are worthy of support. William A. Cunnea, the party's candidate for state's attorney, is a veteran Chicago lawyer of great ability and high principles; Karl Borders, candidate for county commissioner to fill the place of Mayor Cermak, would be of untold value if elected; William B. Waltmire, candidate for the sanitary board, is a Methodist minister who has shown great courage and resourcefulness in championing the cause of the unemployed and underprivileged. Lillian Herstein, Mordecai Shulman, and John Collins, congressional candidates in the 2nd, 6th, and 7th districts, respectively, are all worthy of support, but their names are scarcely ever seen in the daily press. Perhaps they are not the best candidates available, but one wishes that the newspapers would give the voters a chance to know who these people are and what they stand for.

* * *

The Unemployed Parade

Each time I write it seems as if the condition of the unemployed had reached about as desperate depths as possible, but, as a matter of fact, each month it grows worse. Recently the relief agencies were obliged, on account of mounting numbers of the needy, to cut the already pitiful rations. Peaceful picketing, in protest, has been taking place outside relief stations. The city council has given permission for a "hunger parade" today, in which it is expected that thousands will participate. Police protection will be provided, but there are those who fear violence, for the communists will, undoubtedly, attempt to capitalize the demonstration. Although the initiative was taken by unemployed workers themselves, one suspects that the relief agencies are not unwilling to have this dramatization of the desperate need staged. If love of humanity or fear of God is not sufficient to lead to the provision of adequate funds, then fear of the wrath of the hungry may prove effective. In appealing for support of the Emergency fund now being raised Mr. Silas A. Strawn, one of the leaders and a prominent attorney, said, "I warn you that the need in Cook county is very grave indeed, and that the donations are not to be considered pure charity, but an insurance against chaos."

* * *

Trouble for the State's Attorney

State's Attorney John A. Swanson, who owed his original election to this office to the support of reformers and is now a candidate for reelection, is under fire for alleged alliances with the very elements with which his predecessor in office was charged with being too friendly. The "Secret Six," a group of detectives controlled by the Chicago association of commerce committee on prevention and punishment of crime, claims to have uncovered evidence that saloon- and road-house keepers are being dragooned to contribute to Mr. Swanson's campaign fund, and Col. Robert Isham Randolph, head of the "Secret Six," has made public the charges. Mr. Swanson, in turn, has cited Col. Randolph and others to appear before the grand jury to substantiate their charges. It is not easy to get at all the facts, but it is certain that there is a vast distance between promise and performance on the part of those who are elected to clean house.

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Forum Announces Strong Program

The Chicago Forum this year is projecting one of the strongest and most constructive programs it has yet offered. Among the speakers announced are Clarence Darrow, Paul H. Douglas, Kirby Page, John Haynes Holmes, Norman Thomas, and others representing American thought, and Charles Dukes of England, Andre Philip of France, and Wilhelm Sozbacker of Germany, representing European views.

* * *

Son of Salisbury To Speak

The Rt. Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil, bishop of Exeter and a member of the famous Cecil family, will visit Chicago Nov. 6 as a guest of Bishop George Craig Stewart, and will address the Sunday Evening club.

* * *

Methodist Bishop Replies to Al Smith

"Politically-minded Methodists" talked back to ex-Governor Smith in the person of Bishop Ernest Lynn Waldorf, the other night, when the bishop was the guest of the Methodist Social union. "Bishop Waldorf condemned appeals to race or religious prejudices in political campaigns," the newspaper account informs us. "He declared that Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups have a common task in working out political problems and that appeal to racial or sectarian prejudices as a means of vote-getting is contemptible."

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Sales Tax Gives Large Revenue

So Successful Mississippi Agitates for Raise in Rates—Missionary Finds Congo Safer Than Memphis

(Correspondence from the Mid-South)

MEMPHIS, Oct. 29.—The eyes of all states are on Mississippi at present due to the remarkable success of the 2 per cent sales tax. A year ago Gov. "Mike" Conner was threatened with mob violence for fathering the tax; today it is being urged that the tax be raised to 5 per cent to enable the counties of the state to pay off their bonded indebtedness. Gov. Conner is resisting on the ground that to make the tax too heavy will destroy its efficiency. Less favorable is the publicity being given the state because of the recent outrage at Senatobia where a posse, enraged because a Negro named Jesse Williams had killed a deputy sheriff, shot and killed four of the fugitive's relatives and wounded others, including a Negro woman. Needless to say, the investigation since ordered will bring none of the white killers to justice.

* * *

Prison Riots Stir Alabama

Alabama has been much stirred by the recent prison riots in the state. At Speigner an attempted escape resulted in the killing of one and wounding of 20 other prisoners. W. F. Feagin, head of the state convict department, has been severely criticized for having tried to hush the matter up instead of giving the facts to the public. Letters from inmates have appeared in the newspapers declaring that prisoners are beaten with three feet "loaded" sticks. One Negro had his arm broken with such a blow and others had their skulls cracked. Prisoners are made to do more work than they can and sometimes die from the effects.

* * *

Birmingham Temple Observes Jubilee

The fiftieth jubilee services of Temple Emanu-el, Birmingham, were held on Oct. 21, 22. Among the visiting rabbis were Dr. David Marx of Atlanta, Dr. Alfred Moses of Mobile, Dr. Benjamin Goldstein of Montgomery, and Dr. Gunbiner of Selma, Ala. The rabbi of Temple Emmanu-el, Dr. Morris Newfield, who is also president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, will hold the chair at the annual meeting of the conference in Cincinnati, Nov. 1-4. Dr. Newfield has been in charge of Emanu-El since 1895.

* * *

Legalizing Near-Beer Brings Reprisals

Something of the ardor of the dry sentiment in Alabama may be gathered from the fact that until October of this year not only were all intoxicating beverages illegal but even near-beer was banned. The recent law permitting the sale of near-beer caused the ousting from his place as deacon of the Holt Baptist church, Tuscaloosa, of state representative A. K. Callahan. The state legislature retaliated by electing Mr. Callahan honorary chaplain.

* * *

Heresy Hunt Dropped

It is generally believed that the recent decision of the Arkansas synod of the Southern Presbyterian church dismissing charges of heresy against the Rev. Hay Watson Smith of Little Rock have brought the persecution of this liberal minister to a stop. Appeal may conceivably be made, according to some leaders, to the general assembly of the church, but it is hardly likely.

* * *

Homeless and Jobless Youth a Problem

Some idea of the number of unemployed young men, mostly high school and college graduates, who are roaming the country in search of work may be gained from the statement of Major Ladlow of the Salvation army in Memphis. The major says that in July alone the army in Memphis took care of 355 such youths from 36 states and three foreign countries. His estimate is that there are no less than 200,000 such young men at large in the country.

* * *

Liberal College President Still Holds Office

Another meeting of the Tennessee synod of the Southern Presbyterian church has passed—this one at Pulaski—and Dr. Charles E. Diehl is still president of Southwestern college, Memphis. Those who want to oust him for his liberal theological views are still unable to do so although the Mississippi synod recently refused to reelect to the board of trustees Mayor Overton of Memphis. Overton is friendly to Diehl and this violation of the gentlemen's agreement to have one member of the board from each synod a Memphian was aimed at Dr. Diehl.

* * *

Missionary Feels Safer in Congo

Memphis seems about to regain its distinction as murder capital of the world, lost for one year, 1931, to Birmingham. On Oct. 11, Memphis had already had 89 homicides. The city is now going after the all time record of 96 murders hung up in 1930. This situation caused a returned medical missionary, Dr. Myrtle Smith of the Christian church, to say that she felt safer in the Belgian Congo than in the streets of the Tennessee metropolis. Dr. Smith lives in Livingston, Tenn., and is home as a victim of tropical fever. It is her intention to return as soon as her physicians will permit.

* * *

Bishop Gailor Recovering

Bishop Thomas F. Gailor of the diocese of Tennessee has about recovered from an attack of illness suffered recently when he fell while celebrating the communion service in the Episcopal church at Clarksville, Tenn. Dr. Gailor is 76 years old and is one of the best known members of the house of bishops.

* * *

Union of Episcopal Churches Defeated

Grace Episcopal church of Memphis has called to succeed the late Dr. Wright as rector Rev. William DuBose Bratton of

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XUM

Wichita Falls, Tex., son of Bishop Bratton of Mississippi. The vestry of Grace church had originally hoped to merge the church with St. John's, Buntyn, but the idea was vetoed by the congregation.

* * *

Single Taxers Meet In Tennessee

For the first time in its history the Henry George memorial congress was held in the south, meeting at Memphis, Oct. 10-12. The occasion brought together the leading single tax advocates of the nation, including Peter Witt of Cleveland, Ohio, William McNair of Pittsburgh, Robert C. Macauley of Philadelphia, and Joseph Dana Miller of New York. The strongest out of town delegation was that from Fairhope, Ala., which is the largest single tax colony in the country. The little city, founded in the nineties by devout disciples of Henry George, has continued to get along famously with only the tax known as the taking of "economic ground rent"; this in spite of the difficulties of functioning as a single tax island in the midst of a multiple tax sea. It was claimed at the gatherings that one reason for the failure of single tax to grow as an idea was that the dissatisfied looked to socialism. It was also announced that a new single tax enterprise had been started in Mississippi by Mr. Abe Waldauer, city attorney of Memphis. Suggestions that the single taxers vote for Norman Thomas were hooted down on the ground that socialism wanted to get the government in deeper while single tax wanted to get the government out of the people's affairs.

* * *

Accepts Denominational Secretaryship

Rev. W. H. Hopper, for the past seven years of the Handley Memorial Presbyterian church of Birmingham, has asked the church to accept his resignation in order that he may accept appointment as treasurer and assistant secretary of the committee of Christian education and ministerial relief of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

* * *

One Church Not Depressed

The First Unitarian church of Memphis in this year of depression is celebrating the full payment of its building debt. Credit for the achievement rests with the minister emeritus of the church, Dr. J. Lunsford Robinson, who wrote more than 4,000 long-hand letters to Unitarians throughout the nation asking for help. Most famous of all Unitarians to send a check was the late William Howard Taft. Dr. Robinson, who is 72 years old, after ten years in the Cumberland Presbyterian ministry entered the Unitarian fellowship, serving churches at Brooklyn, Conn., Richmond, Va., Barnevelt, N. Y., and Swansboro, N. C., before going to Memphis.

JOHN CLARENCE PETRIE.

Exterminate Patriots! Urges Bernard Shaw

In an article recently published in the magazine, L'Esprit Francais, George Bernard Shaw declared that the best means of establishing world peace is to exterminate patriots. "Patriotism," he said, "is a pernicious, psychopathic form of idiocy. It is the only force that leads to war without reason."

Faiths Hold Union Meeting

Cleveland Fellowship Stresses Common Aims—Many Denominational Groups Meet—Relief Needs Growing

(Correspondence from Cleveland)

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1.—The local Fellowship of Faiths met in Pilgrim Congregational church Oct. 23. Dr. A. J. Culler, president of the Cleveland ministers' union, spoke for Protestantism, Father J. R. Kappanadze for the Russian Orthodox group, Shanti Bahadur for Gandhi's faith, and Lewis Drucker for Judaism. Father Kappanadze told of his early life in Russia. He and Stalin were boyhood friends. Mr. Bahadur stated that Gandhi "embodies the essence of all religions in his theology of passive resistance." Rabbi Drucker said, "A good Jew is a good man. So also is a good Christian or a good Mohammedan." Dr. Culler likened the present demonstration of friendship between the faiths to the building of roads between walled cities in ancient times which finally resulted in the tearing down of walls.

* * *

Church Seeks Care for Children's Teeth

The Broadway Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. E. A. Brown, pastor, is promoting a program for the care of the teeth of the children of the community. The church secured a number of dentists under the direction of Dr. Weston A. Price to examine the children and care for them without charge. Forty cases have been turned over to the church for special diet treatment.

* * *

Ministers Rally

The one day "Spiritual Advance" program promoted by the local federation in cooperation with the Federal council of churches on Oct. 17 was attended by 120 ministers.

* * *

Baptists Hold Conference

The Baptists of northeastern Ohio met in the Euclid Avenue Baptist church Oct. 31, for a one-day conference. Dr. C. O. Johnson, president of the Northern Baptist convention, and Dr. Bernard C. Clausen of Syracuse, N. Y., were the guest speakers.

* * *

New Archpriest for Rumanian Churches

On Oct. 30 Rev. John Trutia, rector of St. Mary's Rumanian Orthodox church, was installed as archpriest and administrator of the Rumanian Orthodox episcopate of the United States and Canada. He will have oversight of 50 churches with a membership of 37,000.

* * *

Ashtabula Church Has Long History

The First Presbyterian church of Ashtabula has just celebrated its 111th anniversary. This church was organized in 1821, but preaching services began in 1804. At that time Ashtabula boasted a population of 150, all of whom lived in log huts. The church is noted for its men's work. Two of its pastors have later directed the men's work of the general assembly, Dr. C. H. McDonald and Dr. W. F. Weir. The church has also been a great missionary force. The records state, "Before the Presbyterian women of Cleveland organized for missionary work, Mrs. McGiffert had established a society in Ashtabula."

* * *

Relief Work Increases Almost Ten-fold

In the Lake district of the local associated charities, which is almost entirely American, there were 150 families receiving aid in 1931. Today there are 1,250 families.

* * *

Episcopal Dioceses in Two-Day Meeting

Delegates from 13 dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal church assembled in Trinity cathedral on Oct. 18 for a two-day period of devotion and discussion. The subjects were missions, religious education and social service. Bishop Campbell Gray, of the diocese of northern Indiana, presided.

* * *

Methodists Hear Leaders

A conference of the Methodist Episcopal churches of this district was held in the People's Methodist church on Oct. 25. The conference was addressed by Bishop H. Lester Smith of Cincinnati, Dr. Ralph Ward and Dr. J. E. Skinner of New York City. The service of consecration was in charge of the district superintendent, Dr. W. W. Dieterich.

* * *

Dr. E. D. Jones Returns for Church Anniversary

Twenty-seven years ago Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones closed a successful pastorate in the Franklin Circle Christian church. Dr. Jones returned to the city on Oct. 28, for the 100th anniversary of the Bedford church of Christ. He spoke on the subject, "Pioneers, Pathfinders, and Prophets."

* * *

Church 90 Years Old

The Franklin Circle Christian church, Dr. F. H. Groom, pastor, will celebrate its 90th anniversary on Nov. 6.

* * *

Church Women Sew For Charity

The women's council of the Federated churches is promoting a plan for making two hundred thousand articles of clothing for Associated charity families.

* * *

Hold Annual Service for Men and Boys

For the third time in as many years the Young Men's Christian association, of which Mr. A. G. Knebel is general secretary, will hold a service of prayer for the men and boys of Cleveland in Trinity cathedral, on Thursday afternoon, Nov. 10, at 4:30 o'clock. Bishop Warren Lincoln Rogers of the Ohio diocese will again deliver the message. Dr. Philip Smead Bird, president of the Federated churches, will participate. On the two previous occasions the cathedral has been filled almost to capacity for this unique service.

DON D. TULLIS.

Lutherans May Unite Seminaries

Seek to Reduce Cost of Theological Education—Report Mission Work Prospering—Campbell Morgan Goes

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24.—From 42 states and 7 Canadian provinces, one minister and one layman from each 10 parishes in the 38 synods, representing 3,374 ordained ministers and 1,350,000 members, some 560 delegates met here Oct. 12-19 for the 8th biennial convention of the United Lutheran church. Dr. Frederick H. Knubel presided. He has been president since its organization in 1918 and was reelected. In his opening sermon he declared: "The heroism of our church's past centuries, typified in Gustavus Adolphus, challenges us to be defenders of the faith. The past of America, typified in George Washington, expects us to uphold Christian democracy." The tercentenary of Gustavus Adolphus was celebrated with an address by Dr. Gustavus Adolphus Brandelle, president of the Augustana Lutheran synod. Judge Claude T. Reno, of Allentown, gave the Washington bicentennial address. The entire convention motored to Valley Forge and to the tomb of Muhlenberg at Trappe, where Dr. A. R. Wentz spoke. In the exhibit of the National Lutheran council was this legend: "The Lutheran church—the mother church of Protestantism—the largest Protestant communion; worldwide in scope, ecumenical in faith, progressive in spirit, evangelical in doctrine, Christocentric in theology, redemptive in purpose."

* * *

Propose Uniting Seminaries

A merger of the 13 seminaries of the United Lutheran church was proposed and referred to the synods. Now the full-time professors range in number from 2 to 8, of students from 9 to 109; of cost per student from $507 to $2,625, with an average cost per student of $706. Last year there were altogether 396 resident theologues. It has been recommended that Hartwick, Gettysburg, Susquehanna, and Philadelphia seminaries be merged into one eastern seminary, Hamma and Chicago into one middle western, Western, Martin Luther and Northwestern into one between the Mississippi and the Rockies, and the Southern seminary at Columbia, S. C., be kept and developed, with the students from the Pacific coast being sent to the western seminary, with transportation paid for by the board of education. Because of the present surplus of ministers the appropriation was reduced to theologues and to college students in preparation for the ministry.

* * *

Mission Work Prospering

Fraternal delegates came from the national churches in Japan, China, and India. Despite fallen income, no foreign missionaries were recalled for lack of funds. Voluntary reductions in salary were made by all executives of the church and the boards. This began with the president, from $7,000 to $6,000 (plus house and office and travel expenses). None of the 600 home mission projects had gone into bankruptcy. With offices here, the board of ministerial relief and pensions was instructed to make more careful and diversified investments of its $4,000,000. The National Lutheran council, the coordinating body for world Lutheranism, which is doing constructive rehabilitation in Russia, reported the only Protestant theological seminary there. Although many others have been sent to Siberia, some 50 Lutheran pastors are still left at work in Russia.

Dr. S. W. Herman, of Harrisburg, suggested four imperative words today for foreign missions: the command of the Savior: "Go"; the invitation of the people: "Come"; the appeal of the missionaries: "Send," against the voice of the church at home: "Halt." He asked whether the convention proposed to let that word stand. Dr. W. H. Greever, of the Southern seminary, was elected secretary. Further affiliation with the Federal council of churches was referred to the next biennial, to be held in 1934 at Savannah, Ga.

* * *

Says America Could Insure Peace

"America alone could remove the curse of war, if the peace spirit of William Penn were sufficiently alive today." So spoke Lord William Gascoyne Cecil, bishop of Exeter, before the English-speaking union in this city of Penn, now celebrating the 250th anniversary of the landing of its Quaker founder. Penn's contributions to the religious, civic and social ideals of Pennsylvania were commemorated last night in the Friends' meeting house at 4th and Arch streets. The speakers were Prof. Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford, Prof. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore, and Dr. Frederick R. Griffin, of the First Unitarian church. Jane Addams spoke Saturday at the Swarthmore pageant, where she received an LL.D.

* * *

Baptists Would Arouse Inactive Laymen

How to "harness the unused energy of the army of inactive laymen of Pennsylvania's 752 Baptist churches" was discussed at the state Baptist convention at Reading, where the men's council stated their major objectives as cooperation in relief of distress and enlistment of 100,000 Baptists in the "Pray It Through" movement against national depression and for larger spiritual devotion. Flagrant violation of the Sunday blue laws was denounced. Vigorous opposition against the repeal of the 18th amendment was recorded. Dr. M. Joseph Twomey, of the Grace temple, was chosen president. A plan to merge the Baptist union of Philadelphia and vicinity with the Pittsburgh association, under a statewide commission, will be decided at next year's convention at Pittsburgh.

The 225th anniversary of the Philadelphia association, mother of all Baptist organizations in America, was celebrated Oct. 4-5 in the First Baptist church, with addresses by the moderator, Dr. Groves

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W. Drew, and Pres. Milton G. Evans, of Crozer theological seminary. Howard W. Green was chosen as the new moderator, and Dr. Ivan Murray Rose vice-moderator.

* * *

Dr. G. Campbell Morgan Returns to London

Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, for three years pastor of the Tabernacle Presbyterian church, has accepted what he believes to be an imperative call back to his old church at Westminster, London. He will take that pulpit six months out of each year, and so help its minister, Dr. Hubert Simpson. On Dec. 11 he will finish his work here. "My three years here have been very happy years," he has declared. "I have realized throughout, however, that the situation is a difficult one. Beginning as I did in Dec. 1929, you will see that the whole period has been influenced by the economic conditions, which certainly so far have, in my judgment, produced no reaction towards spiritual things."

* * *

And So Forth

William O. Easton, for many years educational secretary of the Y. M. C. A., has been elected president of the Philadelphia Sunday school council of Christian education, 1511 Arch street, under the International council of religious education. A graduate of Columbia, he is an active Episcopalian.

The First Presbyterian church in Germantown, organized 1809, celebrated the centennial of its charter with an address by Dr. Joseph Fort Newton. Dr. W. Beatty Jennings is minister and Rev. John Clark Finney associate.

St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal church in Frankford celebrated its centenary of service. Its membership of over 1300 makes it the largest in the northeast.

Dean Howard Chandler Robbins has begun his preaching at Holy Trinity church.

Under the direction of the mayor's committee, the women of 26 churches in Bethlehem have responded to canning for the relief of the unemployed and report 8,365 cans. The jars were given by the city and the produce by nearby farmers and interested citizens. The other churches, except three which refused, had no facilities. Similar help has been given in Allentown and Philadelphia.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

High Standards Win in British Movies

Edward Shortt, president of the British board of film censors, reports that the demand for clean films is now so generally recognized in Great Britain that the problem of brutal and sordid themes has practically disappeared. The position of film censorship, he says, is more satisfactory today than ever before. The number of films rejected this year so far is 16, compared with 34 last year. "Certain pictures, owing to the difference between British and American viewpoints, will probably continue to be produced," reports Mr. Shortt, "because it is impracticable for American producers to consult us before production as British producers do. But the representatives of American producers in London accept our British standards without question."

Begins 40th Year As Chancellor

Dr. Kirkland Has Brought Vanderbilt to Forefront of Nation's Universities—A Real Community Church

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, Oct. 31.—One of the makers of the "New South" is Dr. James H. Kirkland. He is just entering his 40th year as chancellor of Vanderbilt university. During these four decades the university has grown from a small institution with $2,000,000 assets to one of the leading American institutions of higher learning with an endowment of $19,000,000 and property worth some $9,000,000 more. Its medical college is one of the best in the land and the leading school for the education of physicians in the south. Its school of religion is one of the highest grade graduate schools of religion in the country and the only non-denominational school for the training of ministers in the south. It was founded by the Southern Methodists more than 70 years ago, but became non-denominational when the university won independence from the bishops in a historic contest which lasted four years. Dean Wilbur F. Tillett who, while remaining loyal to his church, stuck to his post as dean of the school of religion, has just completed a half-century of service on its faculty and remained active and greatly beloved. Vanderbilt has never joined the quest for bigness but keeps its enrolment severely limited to the number of students who can be provided with first class instruction. It has maintained a high reputation for scholarship and academic freedom. Chancellor Kirkland led the movement in the Southern association of colleges to withdraw recognition from the state colleges of Mississippi when they were under the political manipulations of Gov. Bilbo.

* * *

Arkansas to Celebrate

Arkansas is beginning preparation for the celebration of its hundredth anniversary of admission to statehood. It was granted severance from Missouri as a territory in 1819 and full statehood in 1836. It was settled largely from Tennessee following the purchase from the Indians in Andrew Jackson's day of the lands lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers. The butt of many a joke for its primitive character in days agone, Arkansas is now one of the richest, most picturesque and, in many ways, progressive of the southern states, as illustrated in its election of the first woman senator in the person of Mrs. Hattie Carraway.

* * *

Preacher Who Wouldn't Be Bishop Goes to Washington

Rev. Forney Hutchison, who has been for 14 years pastor of St. Paul's Methodist church in Oklahoma City, will go to the Mount Vernon Place church in Washington, D. C. He built up a membership of 4,000 in Oklahoma City and was one

of the civic leaders of the city and state. When, at the last conference of the Southern Methodist church, his chances for election as bishop were good, he withdrew from the balloting saying that he would not object to a four-year tenure but could not accept a sentence for life.

* * *

Four Churches Unite on Unique Basis

Four denominational churches at Green Ridge, Mo., near Sedalia, have united to form a community church. The Congregationalist, Christian, and Northern and Southern Methodist are in the merger. They have voted to join the presbytery of Sedalia because they desired overhead connections and wished to avoid any of the difficulties that might arise in attempting to agree upon connections with any one of the four denominations uniting. Another innovation in the new united church was the election of two women as elders.

* * *

College Builds to Give Students Work

The College of the Ozarks near Branson, Mo., is erecting a new chapel. The students have just completed the building of a new dairy barn. Building of the chapel was pushed forward one year over plans for 1933 to give work to fifty students who would otherwise have been compelled to quit school.

* * *

Anti-Saloon League Goes Back to Education

The Tennessee Anti-saloon league is inaugurating a statewide educational campaign. Three young men have been added to the staff to travel and hold institutes among the youth of the churches and schools. Last year 300 public meetings were held and this coming year 1,000 will be attempted. Both the league and the state W. C. T. U. have dropped party support and returned to the much needed work of temperance education.

* * *

Appeal for Two Stricken Zones

The Church Emergency Relief committee, of which the writer is chairman and James Myers of the Federal council of churches is secretary, is appealing for funds to support the families of the miners indicted and convicted at Harlem, Ky. The newly organized "Save the Children Fund" of which Dr. John Voris, for many years a leader in Near East Relief, is executive, is collecting food and clothing for the thousands of children in the southern Appalachians who are suffering because of drouth and depression.

* * *

A Real Community Church

A striking recent adventure in the "New South" is that of Rev. Claude Williams in Paris, Ark. Mr. Williams was a captain in the A. E. F. and a recent student in the school of religion of Vanderbilt university, from which he went to a small church in Paris, in the midst of the Arkansas coalfields. He pled the cause of the miners in the recent strike there and has made a strong plea also to youth, to the farmers and to many of the business men. Community affairs began to center around a new and larger building. Taking advantage of idle time on the part of miners, farmers and the unemployed, he challenged

Do you think that you could run a business successfully on this basis?

Suppose that you were to draw up a charter for your business, and that in the preamble you should affirm —

Amid the selfish struggles between classes of men, such as employers and employes, brain workers and hand workers, capital and labor, producer and consumer, seller and buyer, no higher or more potent unifying and cohesive force has ever come into the world than through Jesus of Nazareth. It is, therefore, the desire of the owners of this business to make it an experimental laboratory for the practice in industry and commerce of Jesus' way of life. This does not presume that Jesus' way of life in industry is as yet fully known, but does declare that the honest search for it is to be the controlling motive of this business.

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them to build a church out of native rubble stone. He cashed an insurance policy of his own to provide the funds required to start the project, and the community rallied with an enthusiasm that kept men at work at times until past midnight. The church will be non-denominational in its community work, will provide a meeting-place for unions, farmers' associations, lunch clubs, women's organizations, young people's clubs, meetings and recreational activities. It will give the entire plant over one day each week to the colored people for their religious and community activities. The dominant notes in Mr. Williams' preaching are those of cooperation, liberalism and brotherhood rising above creeds and group interests. An ex-colonel is the chairman of his board, and he frankly supported Norman Thomas in the presidential campaign without losing leadership in his community.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Dean Inge Pities the Younger Generation

In a recent address Dean W. R. Inge states that he feels a great pity for the younger generation. "Life was comparatively so easy for us and it is going to be so hard for them. We grew up in an age of expansion and confidence; they have come in for an age of contraction and perplexity. The writing on the wall looked rather encouraging for us; what they see is a gigantic note of interrogation."

Dr. English Finds in Church Young People the "One Great Hope"

Rev. Merle N. English reports that during the past four years 520,000 persons joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S. from the Sunday schools and young people's organizations of the denomination. Dr. English, who is the associate secretary of the Methodist board of education, holds that "church school and young people's work of the churches is the one great hope for stemming the current tide of secularism, materialism, and naturalism."

Colgate-Rochester Dedicates New Buildings

Colgate-Rochester divinity school, the new "city on the hill," welcomed hosts of friends Oct. 20-21, at the dedication of the new buildings of the school on the southern skyline of Rochester. The ceremonies were in the nature of a rededication of the school to the ideals of its founders. Pres. Clarence A. Barbour of Brown university and former president of Rochester seminary; Pres. Albert W. Beaven of Colgate-Rochester, and Pres. Rush Rhees of the University of Rochester, gave expression to this association of past and future. They spoke of religious leadership, courageous and tolerant, rooted in the strength of the pioneers who founded Colgate seminary and Rochester seminary. In the lofty gothic tower which surmounts the campus buildings they found tangible expression of the spiritual leadership which has been and shall be the role of Colgate-Rochester divinity school. Representatives of 60 educational institutions participated in the formal opening of the new buildings. Dr. Beaven reported that purchase of the 24 acres, erection of the buildings and furnishings had cost less than $1,240,000. He also announced the opening of a three weeks' summer school next year, to be related as closely as possible to the practical needs of the average minister. At a dinner in the schools commons, Dr. Barbour spoke of the contrast of 1888, when he came to Rochester as a student, with 1932. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, who delivered the dedication sermon on the second day of the exercises, spoke of the need of a profound personal religion in the religious leaders of the future, also of the necessity of an awareness to the wider ethical standards in the church community. Dr. Edgar S. Brightman, of Boston university, addressed a session in the auditorium on the difference between absolute and finite theism.

Dr. Speer to Deliver Stone Lectures at Princeton

Dr. Robert E. Speer will give the annual lectures on the L. P. Stone foundation at Princeton seminary this year. Dr. Speer will speak daily, Dec. 12-16, his subject being "The Finality of Christianity."

Dr. Kearney Consecrated as Catholic Bishop of Salt Lake Diocese

Rev. James E. Kearney, founder and for the past four years pastor of the Church of St. Xavier, the Bronx, New York, was consecrated on Oct. 28 as bishop of the diocese of Salt Lake, Utah, Cardinal Hayes being the consecrator. The ceremonies were held at St. Patrick's cathedral, New York city.

Veteran Disciples Missionary Returns to India

Miss Mattie Burgess, Disciples missionary in India for a generation, came home last year with the expectation of remaining in this country. But, at the request of the India mission, Miss Burgess has returned to her post to spend the remainder of her life in the service of the mission. She goes on her own resources.

Pittsburgh Presbyterians Hear Dr. Hough

Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, of Drew seminary, was the speaker at the autumn meeting of the Presbyterian union of Pittsburgh, on Nov. 7. His subject was "America Inherits the Earth."

Korea in Autumn Campaign of Evangelism

Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Korea are uniting in a common program for an All-Korea evangelistic campaign. Beginning Oct. 16, the campaign goes forward for six weeks, with 2,500 churches joining in the movement. Nov. 27 will be observed as Decision day.

"Y" Physical Director Is Decorated by Japan

In recognition of his 17 years of service as national physical director of the Y. M. C. A. in Japan, Franklin H. Brown has been decorated with the order of "The Sacred Treasure" by the emperor of Japan.

Mrs. Rockefeller Heads Y. W. C. A. World Council

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, jr., has been named chairman of the world service council of the Y. W. C. A., succeeding Mrs. Arthur C. James. As chairman, Mrs. Rockefeller will direct the activities of the group in interpreting "Y. W." work to women and girls in all parts of the world.

Miami Methodist Minister Dies

Rev. Isaac F. Roach, who came from Long Beach, Cal., to Miami, Fla., three years ago as pastor of the White Temple Methodist church, died Oct. 29. He was 64 years of age.

Jews and Christians Join in Armistice Sunday Service

In the Armistice service conducted at the Scottish Rite auditorium, Cincinnati, on Nov. 6 by the Jewish and Christian ministers of the city, Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia made the address.

Dr. A. P. Fitch Is Again Stricken

Dr. Albert Parker Fitch, who had been absent from his pulpit at Park Avenue Presbyterian church, New York, for many months because of serious illness, returned on Oct. 2 apparently in rugged health. But after two Sundays' preaching, he has again been stricken, and it is doubted whether he will be able to resume his work.

Y. W. C. A. in Quarter-Century Celebration

Twenty-five years of work as a national unit will be celebrated by the Y. W. C. A. of the U. S. on Nov. 12. The outstanding celebration will center in New York city. A "Festival of the Years" will be given at a mass meeting in Carnegie hall. Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Mrs. Robert E. Speer and others will speak at the New York meeting. The occasion will serve to commemorate the work of Miss Grace H. Dodge, founder of the present national board, who was president until her death in 1914.

Poet-Preacher Takes Own Life

The Congregationalist reports that Rev. Charles Poole Cleaves, for many years a minister in New England, and a poet of fine ability, recently took his own life following a long period of ill-health. The ministry was Dr. Cleaves' vocation, but he had become also an accredited optometrist. His poems were found worthy of publication in such publications as Harper's and the Century magazine.

Goodwill Congress Meets in New York This Week

The 17th annual meeting of the International Goodwill congress of the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches, meets at the Biltmore hotel, New York city, this week, Nov. 10-12. The general theme for discussion is "World Understanding and Economic Justice." Among the speakers scheduled are: Henry A. Atkinson, Linley V. Gordon, Harry N. Holmes and Charles Stelzle, who will speak on "The Outlook for World Understanding"; William Pierson Merrill, on "Out of Chaos"; Lord William Gascoyne Cecil, Rabbi Louis I. Newman and Michael Williams, on "The Moral and Spiritual Implications in Enduring World Peace"; Charles Clayton Morrison, on "America's Developing Peace Policy"; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, on

"World Understanding as Interpreted by the Women of the World"; Hon. Richard B. Bennett, Canadian prime minister, on "The Unfinished Tasks of the Parliaments of the World"; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, on "The Geneva Conference—Hopes and Fears"; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, "No More War." Prof. Andre Philip, Prof. F. Siegmund-Schultze and Lord William Gascoyne Cecil will bring messages from France, Germany and Great Britain. At a public meeting, held the evening of Nov. 11, at Carnegie hall, Hon. Norman H. Davis will preside, and addresses will be delivered by Dr. Julius Curtius, former minister for foreign affairs, Germany, and Hon. Silas Strawn, former president chamber of commerce of the U. S. A.

Death of T. S. Jones, Jr., Author of "Sonnets of the Cross"

Thomas S. Jones, jr., who won wide fame by his sonnets, most of them of a religious character, died in New York city Oct. 16, at 49 years of age. Mr. Jones's most famous volumes were "Sonnets of the Cross," "Sonnets of the Saints," and "Sonnets of the New World."

Rockefeller Foundation Devotes 18 Millions to Philanthropic Work

The latest report of the Rockefeller foundation, just issued, announces that during the year 1931 the foundation appropriated to philanthropic work a total of $18,737,967. This sum was distributed among the five fields in which the foundation's interests lie: the humanities, public health, medical, social and natural sciences. The increasing worldwide interest in social and economic problems was reflected in the appropriation for that field last year of $5,805,275—a larger sum than was appropriated in any other field.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Our Times, IV The War Begins, 1909-1914, by Mark Sullivan. Scribners, $3.75.
Flowering Wilderness, by John Galsworthy. Scribners, $2.50.
Farewell Miss Julie Logan, by J. M. Barrie. Scribners, $1.00.
An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools, by Henry Johnson. Scribners, $1.25.
The Contribution of Religion to Social Work, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Columbia University Press, $2.00.
The Best Poems of 1932, selected by Thomas Moult. Harcourt, $2.00.
My Friendly Contemporaries, a Literary Log, by Hamlin Garland. Macmillan, $2.50.
Arid, by Phillips Kloss. Macmillan, $1.50.
Big Bug, by Paul Rader. Revell, $2.00.
Is Christ Possible? by Philip Whitwell Wilson. Revell, $1.75.
Days from a Year in School, by Elsie Abbott. Revell, $1.25.
The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity, by Michael Servetus. Harvard University Press.
The Long Knives Walked, by Mary Louise Mabie. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.00.
High Courage, by Owen D. Young. Dutton, $1.00.
A Study of Jesus' Own Religion, by George Walter Fiske. Macmillan, $2.00.
The Mount of Vision, by William Muir Auld. Macmillan, $2.00.
A Recall to Dante, by Alice Curtayne. Macmillan, $1.75.
The Laws of Friendship Human and Divine, by Henry Churchill King. Macmillan, $1.00.
What's the Matter with New York? by Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard. Macmillan, $2.00.
Are We Spiritually Dead? by Murray Alexander Cayley. Stratford, $1.50.
Stories of God, by Rainer Maria Rilke. Norton, $2.00.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Bill of Divorcement

(John Barrymore, Billie Burke) (RKO) Realistic, forceful portrayal of shell-shocked English veteran, cured of inherited insanity, trying to take his place again in his home. Katherine Hepburn compelling as clear-thinking daughter making ultimate decisions for all concerned. Excellent production.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Mature and good. For C: Not for them.

Broadway to Cheyenne

(Rex Bell, Marceline Day) (Monogram) Melodramatic thriller of little merit except lively action, about gangsters who operate first in New York, then in the west. Coincidence heavily overworked, plot none too plausible, and acting ordinary. Merely another potboiler.

For A: Elementary. For Y: No. For C: No.

Hot Saturday

(Nancy Carroll, Cary Grant) (Para) Cheap glorification of the gay life of flaming youth in small town. Virtuous heroine, misunderstood, finally driven by scandal to marry the young rake-hero who had always scorned marriage. Artificial story, many false notes, mediocre acting.

For A: Cheap. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Once in a Lifetime

(Aline McMahon, Jack Oakie) (Univ.) Merry farce-comedy about three ham vaudevillians who crash Hollywood and end up in positions of high authority. Hilarious satire on movie people and methods, thoroughly funny throughout even when silly. Some excellent character work, especially by Aline McMahon.

For A: Amusing. For Y: Very amusing. For C: Probably good.

Parisian Romance, A

(Lew Cody, Marion Shilling) (Allied) Light, humorous, sophisticated story of girl who gives up humble but devoted lover for gay Parisian rounder. Luxury and gaiety for a time. Then he nobly withdraws to permit heroine's marriage and a moral ending. Typical role for Cody.

For A: Perhaps. For Y: No. For C: No.

Payment Deferred

(Charles Laughton, Dorothy Peterson) (MGM) Masterful character role by Laughton, fine supporting cast, in absorbing, grim, realistic study of London bank clerk, who commits sordid poison murder for much needed money, with dire consequences to him and his devoted little family. Strong, relentless tragedy.

For A: Notable of kind. For Y: Unsuitable. For C: No.

Red Dust

(Jean Harlow, Clark Gable) (MGM) Cheap, crude sex stuff in tropic heat of rubber plantation. Hard-boiled, he-man hero scorns marriage but wins his women; first, the pretty, brazen young vulgarian, then, the new foreman's charming young wife (Mary Astor), then, "moral ending" with hero "going noble."

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

The All-American
Forbidden Company
Movie Crazy
The Phantom President
Night of June 13th
70,000 Witnesses

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Back Street
Love Me Tonight
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Quotable Poems: First and Second Series

By CLARK AND GILLESPIE. Says the Boston Transcript: "This anthology is one of the best collections of inspirational poems in print." "Quotable Poems, First Series," published three years ago, is a continual "best seller," and the "Second Series," recently published, is welcomed by Ernest Fremont Tittle as "illuminating, inspiring and usable."
(Each volume, $2.50. The two volumes, boxed, $5.00)

The Daily Altar

By WILLETT AND MORRISON. There was never a generation that needed more sorely than ours such a book of devotional reading as this. For each day a meditation, a scripture reading, a poem and a prayer. Published several years ago, it still holds the field as the book for personal and family devotions. (Blue cloth, $1.00. Leather, $2.50)

Magnificent Obsession

By LLOYD C. DOUGLAS. A fascinating novel, and also a magnificent sermon, indicating how one may live powerfully and gloriously "by absorbing other personalities," as the Saturday Review puts it. A cold-hearted individualist becomes a philanthropist by the infusion of religion. ($2.50)

Two-Minute Stories

By CARL S. PATTON. There are books and books of stories for children. Many of them are mushy, sentimental. This book by Dr. Patton, says the Christian Advocate, is "different!" Each story is worthwhile in itself, and each carries a clear-cut lesson. ($1.25)

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